







THE TWELFTH TO THE  
EIGHTEENTH DYNASTIES

A HISTORY  
*of the*  
PHARAOHS

VOL. II



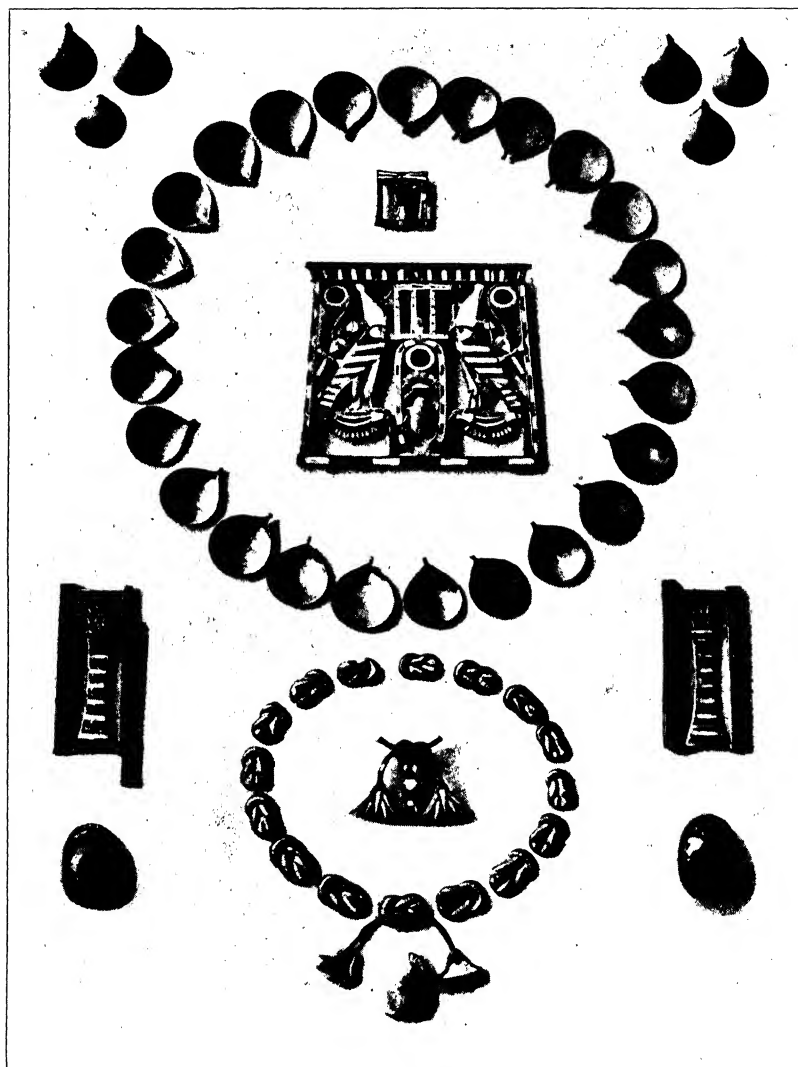
*BY THE SAME AUTHOR*

A HISTORY OF THE PHARAOHS

VOLUME I: THE FIRST ELEVEN DYN.  
THE LIFE AND TIMES OF CLEOPATR.  
TUTANKHAMEN AND OTHER ESSAYS  
THE GLORY OF THE PHARAOHS  
THE LIFE AND TIMES OF AKHNATON

ETC., ETC.





JEWELLERY OF THE TWELFTH DYNASTY. (From de Morgan's *Dahchour*).

*See page 78.*





# A HISTORY *of* THE PHARAOSHS

VOLUME II

FROM THE ACCESSION OF AMENEMHET I OF  
THE TWELTH DYNASTY TO THE DEATH  
OF THUTMOSE III OF THE EIGHTEENTH  
DYNASTY, 2111 TO 1441 B.C.

BY

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## PREFACE

IN this second volume of my History of the Pharaohs the student will realize how much I am indebted to Prof. Breasted's *Ancient Records*, where most of the important historical inscriptions are translated. In every case I have had the hieroglyphical text before me, usually in Sethe's transcription, and I have ventured to give my own translation from time to time. In the main, however, I have followed Breasted, only making verbal alterations where they seemed to help the sense or bring out a meaning which appeared to have been overlooked. I find that I do not agree with him in the historical arrangement of much of the material, and in the case of the Eighteenth Dynasty in particular I cannot accept his interpretation of many events; but these points will be fully discussed in the following pages. In the long story of the adventures of Sinuhe (pages 48 and 65) I have followed the rendering of Dr. Alan Gardiner, but I have avoided the "old English" into which he has laboriously translated this vivid tale. It is beyond my comprehension why scholars should deem it scholarly to employ an eccentric pseudo-antique phraseology in bringing before the readers of to-day the literature of an age which was to its writers just what ours is to us.

In my preface to the first volume I have made my acknowledgments to other authorities; but I should mention that the diagrams published in *Historical Studies* which I had spoken of as *Knobel's Tables* were really, I find, drawn by Prof. Sir W. Flinders Petrie from the data supplied by Mr. Knobel; and I shall therefore refer to them as the *Knobel-Petrie Tables*. It is a matter of great regret to me that I find myself so entirely at variance with Prof. Petrie in regard to the dating of the period between the Twelfth and Eighteenth Dynasties. The dates of the Twelfth Dynasty are checked by certain astronomical phenomena which were recorded by the ancient Egyptians; but these phenomena repeat themselves

in cycles of 1,460 years, roughly speaking, and Prof. Petrie has always used a cycle earlier than that accepted by other Egyptologists. He has very stoutly maintained this position, contending that the data we possess for this intermediate period is sufficient to fill the longer total of years; but this opinion, which was once fairly general, has been entirely abandoned long ago by other scholars, and now I think my new system of chronology has made the shorter dating absolutely beyond question.

It should be noted that my references to "*Journal*" are to *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, published under the auspices of the Egypt Exploration Society; and those to "*Ancient Egypt*" refer to the journal of that name edited by Prof. Petrie, these being the two main Egyptological periodicals in England. "*Zeitschrift*" refers to the *Zeitschrift für Aegyptische Sprache*; "*Recueil*" to the *Recueil des Travaux*; and "*Annales*" to the *Annales du Service des Antiquités*. The *Catalogue of the Cairo Museum*, to which I often refer, is a work in scores of volumes, each written by some Egyptologist expert in the subject dealt with; but for the sake of brevity, I have generally given only the number of the object referred to, and not the name of the author of that particular volume of the catalogue, for these numbers run in sequence, and the different volumes can be identified by them.

I must say a word in regard to the heads of the mummies shown in the illustrations of this volume. As will be seen, I have slightly restored the profiles of these royal faces, for the nose in each case is much flattened and the chin has dropped back. I have simply taken the photograph of the mummy, and have built up in pencil the distorted features, following the lines of the bone, and being guided by the portrait-statues and reliefs representing the personage. By this means, though I dare say my restorations will be criticized, portraits of these long-dead royalties are able to be shown, which, if not entirely lifelike, certainly give us some idea of their appearance.

As I find myself so much at variance with other Egyptologists in regard to the arrangement and interpretation of the events in the period covered in this volume, it will be as well to indicate here some of the main points on which I differ

from them, and in regard to which I offer a new solution of the difficulties; and I should like to repeat what I said in the preface to the first volume, namely that the amateur who reads these pages should attempt to grapple with the problems, and not to accept the solutions as though they were obtained from inner information unavailable to him.

In the first place there is my new chronology of the Twelfth to Eighteenth Dynasties, which was outlined in the first volume, and which is here fully discussed. In the table on page 32, it will be seen how the known material fits into the Turin Papyrus' total for the length of the Twelfth Dynasty; and in the table on page 239 my new arrangement of the Eighteenth Dynasty is shown; while the grouping of the intermediate dynasties is set out in the tables given on page 224. The last-named tables give, I think, the first satisfactory arrangement of the Thirteenth to Seventeenth Dynasties that has yet been made; and though the chronological details of the reigns are still speculative, I feel that the general structure of this period is now assured. The most important new point in regard to this subject is the fixing of the date of Khyan, the last Hyksos Pharaoh to rule all Egypt, by means of his adjustment of the calendar, which, without any "cooking" of the figures, gives us the date of his death exactly where we should expect it—151 years before the accession of Ahmose I, this 151 years being the well-authenticated total for the intervening Seventeenth Dynasty given by Manetho and confirmed by Syncellus (page 191). The placing of the kings of the names of Dudumose, Sobkemsuf, and Mentuemsuf in the Seventeenth Dynasty, instead of in the Thirteenth, is a new arrangement which greatly helps the solution of the problems. I find that Mr. Winlock, in a very interesting recent paper in the *Journal*, has also suggested the probability of this arrangement.

In the Eighteenth Dynasty there is so much that is new that it is difficult to state here the most important points. My attributing of 13 years to the reign of Thutmose I provides the key to the problem; and another outstanding point is the dating of Queen Hetshepsut's obelisks to the 16th year of Thutmose II instead of to the 16th year of Thutmose III. Working from this, I think I have made clear the sequence of events in the Queen's life.

On page 21 and elsewhere I have fully proved that the regnal years of the Pharaohs' reigns coincided with the calendar years, and this has led to a new understanding of many events, and to an interpretation quite different from that which has previously been accepted. It explains a hundred difficulties, and, with the aid of the *Knobel-Petrie Tables*, supplies an exactitude of dating which would never before have been thought possible in so remote an age.

In publishing a history volume by volume, as I am doing, it is almost inevitable that the close study involved in the preparation of the second volume should lead to the observation of minor errors in the first; and I must record here a number of little corrections which are to be made in Volume I. Fortunately these are not of much importance, and as the new editions of the book will include them, the following notes are intended only for the use of those who possess copies of the first editions of the earlier volume.

On page 27, the paragraph in regard to the calendar year coming back into its original position in 1,460 years needs to be expanded. Though, by losing roughly one day in every four years, the calendar lost 365 days in 1,460 years, this calculation does not represent the true position as calculated throughout this history, and as found in the *Knobel-Petrie Tables in Historical Studies* which I have used; for in relation to the seasons the calendar actually retrograded  $\cdot 24224$  of a day in each year, not  $\cdot 25$ , so that it agreed with the seasons again after 1,508 years, though the risings of the star Sirius recurred in cycles of about 1,460 years.

On page 29, the figures in the last paragraph must be adjusted to meet the more accurate calculations given in the present volume, page 32; and the Sothic date should be 1992 B.C. instead of "about 1990 B.C."

On pages 33 and 34, the date 1577 B.C. for the establishment of the Eighteenth Dynasty should be corrected to 1576 B.C., as I saw when preparing the tables on pages 224 and 239 of the present volume; and the rising of Sirius should be exactly in 1543 B.C. instead of "about 1544 B.C." as I there gave it.

The explanation, on page 35, of the adjustment of the calendar is more fully stated in the present volume on page 176, though no correction is called for.

On page 38, paragraph 5, I have made a slip: "2191 B.C. . . . the end of February" should read "2113 . . . the beginning of February"; and in paragraph 7, the year 2545 B.C. is a misprint for 2548.

On page 42, in the table of dates, the accession of the Thirteenth Dynasty should be in 1898 B.C., not 1897 B.C.; and that of the Eighteenth Dynasty 1576 B.C., not 1577 B.C.

On page 63 I have left out the Son of the Sun-god name of Rathures, "Ratho."

On page 80, line 22, read "above" for "below."

On page 109, line 13, the "7th day of the 6th month" should be of course the "7th day of the 7th month," and the corresponding date April 5th.

On page 110, line 22, "northern" should of course be "southern."

On page 143, line 2, the "2nd month" should be "3rd month"; and similarly on page 186, the "4th month" should be "5th month"; and on page 200 the "9th month" should be "10th month." The explanation of these errors is to be found on page 21 of the present volume.

On page 261, No. 16, I think the title *heq* or *hiq* indicates that this king was more probably of the late Thirteenth Dynasty.

On page 284 the figures beginning at line 19 are incorrect, and should be adjusted by reference to page 32 of the present volume.

On page 315 the death of Nebtouire is mentioned, but on page 39 of the present volume it will be seen that his deposition rather than his death probably ended the reign.

On pages 319 and 320 the figures and dates must be corrected by reference to page 108 of the present volume.





## CHAPTER I

### AN INTRODUCTORY STUDY OF THE CHRONOLOGY

**I**N the first chapter of the previous volume of this History I put forward a new arrangement of the chronology of ancient Egypt which was based upon two primary considerations. Firstly, my reconstruction of the "Palermo Stone" Annals and study of the Turin Papyrus showed that the totals of 949 years for the first six dynasties, followed by 6 kingless years and then 181 years for the Seventh and Eighth Dynasties, as given in that Papyrus, were quite correct, and could be accepted without further question. Secondly, I showed that the Turin Papyrus' total of 160 years for the Eleventh Dynasty could likewise be accepted; and, by making it clear that the Ninth and Eleventh Dynasties were founded at the same time, and ruled contemporaneously at Heracleopolis and Thebes, I was able to arrive at an unbroken chronology from the First Dynasty down to the Twelfth Dynasty, the date of which, as will presently be seen, is astronomically fixed. Thus, the dead reckoning of the length of the reigns or dynasties in this unbroken sequence of recorded figures brought me to the year 3407 B.C. as the date of the accession of Menes, the first king of the First Dynasty. I then proved the correctness of this figure by a new study of the ancient Egyptian calendar; and as the subject of this calendar plays an important part in the chronological arrangement of the periods dealt with in the present volume, it will be as well to remind the reader of the conclusions arrived at, and to add one or two points to my previous argument.

In the first place I showed that the calendar was instituted by Menes some time after his accession; for the fraction of his last year, given in months and days on the Palermo Stone, clearly indicated that the calendar year of 365 days was in use at the end of his reign but had not been in use at its begin-

ning. This is discussed at the foot of page 24 of the previous volume, and on page 21 of the present volume. Now, the Egyptian calendar, having no Leap-year's Day, lost roughly one day in every four years (or exactly  $\frac{1}{4}$  of a day in each year), and thus dropped behind the actual seasons, and wandered round the solar year, only getting back into its original position after 1,508 years; and thus a very simple problem was presented, namely, that if my date for Menes was correct, then, somewhere about 3400 B.C., the calendar must have been in its original position, and the seasons it represented must have coincided with actuality. What, then, was the original nature of the calendar? It was divided into 12 months, each of 30 days, making a total of 360 days; and this was followed by 5 epagomenal or intercalary days, completing the 365 days of the year. The 360 days were divided again into 3 seasons, each of 4 months: the first season was called *Akhe*, "the Growing-season"; the second was called *Pero*, the meaning of which (Vol. I, p. 22) is not quite certain; and the third was called *Shom*, "the Flood-season." Now the first rise of the Nile, which is the beginning of the flood, takes place in the second half of June, and therefore this was obviously the original date for the beginning of *Shom*, "the Flood-season," i.e. the 3rd season of the calendar; and hence the 1st season must have begun in the second half of October, although Egyptologists had always thought that it began in July. What seasonal event, then, occurred in the second half of October which could be regarded as a fitting annual occasion for the opening of the new year? The answer is supplied by the Palermo Stone annals; for at the end or bottom of each year-space in the annals there is a separate small space, which might well be regarded as representing the intercalary period, and in this space the annual height of the year's flood is recorded. In other words the 360-days' year was seen to end at the reaching of the highest flood-level, which was then announced and recorded in the 5 days' intercalary period, and the new year began with the decline of the flood. But the *Knobel-Petrie Tables* show that in 3400 B.C. the last day of the last month of the calendar fell on October 15th-16th, and the new year began, 5 days later, on October 20th-21st. Is October 15th, then, the date of the completion of the highest period

of the flood?—for, if so, the fact proves that the calendar was instituted in 3400 B.C.

When I was preparing the first volume of this History I was using figures obtained more or less from private observations, and I did not hesitate to state that October 15th *was* the average annual date of the beginning of the final decline of the water; but since then I have received from Dr. E. McKenzie Taylor of Cambridge some more exact figures. These show that the earliest recorded date for the height of the flood at the Roda Island Nilometer, near Cairo and Memphis, is October 1st, and that the latest date for that even is October 11th. At Assiout, about 250 miles further up stream, the highest point is reached about 10 days earlier and, judging by this, the highest point would be reached in the regions round the mouths of the Nile, on the Egyptian sea-coast, about 5 days later than at Roda, namely October 16th. That is to say the flood has reached its limit at the end of its journey through Egypt by October 16th, which was exactly the last day of the last month of the calendar in 3400 B.C. Menes, it will be recalled, reigned at Memphis, close to Roda Island, and thus the final flood-levels for the whole country would have been reported and announced by the end of the 5 intercalary days, as the Palermo Stone indicates.

If, then, the last day of the last month was October 15th-16th in 3400 B.C., then the 1st day of the 3rd season, the "Flood-season," would have fallen in that year on June 17th-18th. But we know that the first rise of the Nile was regarded as coinciding with the first observation of the heliacal rising of the dog-star Sirius after the annual period of its invisibility; and in 3400 B.C. this rising of Sirius occurred exactly on June 17th-18th, 120 days before the last day of the last month. Therefore, the inventors of the calendar saw that one more fixed point, falling on February 18th-19th, would divide the 12-months' year exactly into three seasons; and this date coincided with the reaping of the first harvest. Thus the original calendar is seen to have been a practical agricultural arrangement of the year: the 1st season, "the Growing season," beginning at the decline of the flood, when the seed could be sown; the 2nd season beginning with the completion of the harvesting; and the 3rd season, "the Flood-season,"

beginning with the first rise of the Nile and the coinciding rising of Sirius. But since the calendar was in this position only in about 3400 B.C., after which it began to drop behind the actual seasons, the date of its institution must have been in about that year; and since we know that it must have been instituted a short time after the accession of Menes, therefore my date for the beginning of that king's reign, 3407 B.C., which was arrived at by the dead reckoning recorded above, is absolutely confirmed.

For the convenience of students, I give here a table of the detailed sequence of dates covering the first eleven dynasties which were dealt with in Volume I; but it is to be noted that the years B.C. only represent round numbers: "Year 8" of Menes, for instance, does not coincide exactly with 3400 B.C., but with the period from October 20th-21st, 3400 B.C., to October 19th-20th, 3399 B.C. In studying the chronology of the period covered in the present volume, the student will be able to remind himself, by reference to this table, that the dates which I give are based on this solid foundation, and are not able to be altered by more than a year or so.

#### A TABLE OF THE YEARS AND DATED EVENTS OF THE FIRST ELEVEN DYNASTIES

(N.B.—The page-references are to those of Vol. I of this history.)

Year of Dynasty.	Date B.C.	DATED EVENTS.	Year of Reign.	Year of Dynasty.	Date. B.C.	DATED EVENTS.	Year of Reign.
1	3407	Death of Narmer ; accession of Ohe Meni (Menes) and establish- ment of First Dynasty	1	15	3393		15
				16	3392		16
				17	3391		17
				18	3390		18
				19	3389		19
				20	3388		20
2	3406	(Menes reigned 62	2	21	3387		21
3	3405	years according	3	22	3386		22
4	3404	to the Annals,	4	23	3385		23
5	3403	and Manetho :	5	24	3384		24
6	3402	pp. 5, 7, 17, 61,	6	25	3383		25
7	3401	109.)	7	26	3382		26
8	3400	Institution of the calendar	8	27	3381		27
				28	3380		28
9	3399	(The calendar was	9	29	3379		29
10	3398	instituted by	10	30	3378		30
11	3397	Menes in about	11	31	3377		31
12	3396	the 8th year of	12	32	3376		32
13	3395	his reign, 3400	13	33	3375		33
14	3394	B.C., pp. 20-26.)	14	34	3374		34

Year of Dynasty.	Date B.C.	DATED EVENTS.	Year of Reign.	Year of Dynasty.	Date B.C.	DATED EVENTS.	Year of Reign.
35	3373		35	79	3329		17
36	3372		36	80	3328		18
37	3371		37	81	3327		19
38	3370		38	82	3326		20
39	3369		39	83	3325		21
40	3368		40	84	3324		22
41	3367		41	85	3323		23
42	3366		42	86	3322		24
43	3365		43	87	3321		25
44	3364		44	88	3320	Feast of Birth of Anubis	26
45	3363		45				
46	3362		46	89	3319		27
47	3361		47	90	3318		28
48	3360		48	91	3317	Feast of Sokar	29
49	3359		49	92	3316		30
50	3358		50	93	3315		31
51	3357		51	94	3314		32
52	3356		52	95	3313	Feast of Desher	33
53	3355		53	96	3312		34
54	3354		54	97	3311		35
55	3353		55	98	3310		36
56	3352		56	99	3309		37
57	3351		57	100	3308		38
58	3350		58	101	3307		39
59	3349		59	102	3306		40
60	3348		60	103	3305		41
61	3347		61	104	3304		42
62	3346	Feast of Birth of Anubis	62	105	3303		43
				106	3302		44
63	3345	Death of Ohe Meni and acces- sion of Khenti Athuthi	1	107	3301		45
				108	3300		46
				109	3299		47
				110	3298		48
64	3344	Feast of Desher	2	111	3297		49
65	3343	Making of two statues	3	112	3296		50
				113	3295		51
66	3342		4	114	3294		52
67	3341	Feast of Sokar. Planning of the royal palace	5	115	3293		53
				116	3292		54
				117	3291		55
68	3340	Feast of the Birth of the goddess Yamet	6	118	3290		56
				119	3289		57
				120	3288	Death of Khenti Athuthi and ac- cession of Utho Khenkhen At- huthi	1
69	3339	Feast of the Birth of Min	7				
70	3338	Feast of Birth of Anubis	8				
71	3337	Feast of Wathet	9	121	3287	(Utho reigned 29 years according to the Annals and Turin Papyrus : pp. 8, 17, 61.)	2
72	3336	(Athuthi reigned 57 years accord- ing to the Annals and Manetho : pp. 5, 7, 17, 61, 112.)	10	122	3286		3
73	3335		11	123	3285		4
74	3334		12	124	3284		5
75	3333		13	125	3283		6
76	3332		14	126	3282		7
77	3331		15	127	3281		8
78	3330		16	128	3280		9

Year of Dynasty.	Date B.C.	DATED EVENTS.	Year of Reign.	Year of Dynasty.	Date B.C.	DATED EVENTS.	Year of Reign.
129	3279		10	178	3230	<i>to the Annals :</i>	4
130	3278		11	179	3229	<i>pp. 8, 17, 61,</i>	5
131	3277		12	180	3228	<i>116.)</i>	6
132	3276		13	181	3227		7
133	3275		14	182	3226		8
134	3274		15	183	3225		9
135	3273		16	184	3224		10
136	3272		17	185	3223		11
137	3271		18	186	3222		12
138	3270		19	187	3221		13
139	3269		20	188	3220		14
140	3268		21	189	3219		15
141	3267		22	190	3218		16
142	3266		23	191	3217		17
143	3265		24	192	3216		18
144	3264		25	193	3215		19
145	3263		26	194	3214		20
146	3262		27	195	3213	Ceremony in temple of Sau in Heka. . . .	21
147	3261		28				
148	3260		29				
149	3259	Death of Utho KhenkhenAthuthi and accession of Queen Henneit Ato	1	196	3212	War against the Bedouin tribes	22
				197	3211	Celebration of the Jubilee	23
150	3258		2	198	3210	Census of the people	24
151	3257		3	199	3209	Feast of Wathet	25
152	3256		4	200	3208	Planning of the royal palace.	26
153	3255		5			Feast of Sokar	
154	3254	<i>(Henneit reigned</i>	6	201	3207	Building of the royal palace	27
155	3253	<i>26 years according to the Annals:</i>	7	202	3206	Making of the palace lake.	28
156	3252	<i>pp. 8, 17, 61,</i>	8			Great hippopotamus hunt	
157	3251	<i>115.)</i>	9				
158	3250		10				
159	3249		11				
160	3248		12	203	3205	Ceremony at temple at Ehen- insi (Heracleopolis)	29
161	3247		13				
162	3246		14	204	3204	Destruction of the city of Urke	30
163	3245		15	205	3203	Feast of the god Sed	31
164	3244		16	206	3202	Search for a new Apis-bull	32
165	3243		17	207	3201	Feast of the Births of Seshat and Mefdet	33
166	3242		18				
167	3241		19				
168	3240		20				
169	3239		21				
170	3238		22				
171	3237		23				
172	3236		24				
173	3235		25				
174	3234		26	208	3200		34
175	3233	Death of Henneit and accession of Udi Hesapti	1	209	3199		35
		<i>(Udi reigned 40</i>	2	210	3198		36
176	3232	<i>years according</i>	3	211	3197		37
177	3231			212	3196		38
				213	3195		39

Year of Dynasty.	Date B.C.	DATED EVENTS.	Year of Reign.	Year of Dynasty.	Date B.C.	DATED EVENTS.	Year of Reign.
214	3194		40	260	3148		24
215	3193	Death of Udi Hes- apti and acces- sion of Othib Merbi	1	261	3147		25
				262	3146		26
				263	3145		27
				264	3144		28
216	3192	(Othib reigned 13	2	1	3143	Death of Behu	1
217	3191	years according	3			Bineth; end of	
218	3190	to the Annals:	4			First Dynasty;	
219	3189	pp. 9, 17, 61,	5			accession of	
220	3188	121.)	6			Butho and es- tablishment of	
221	3187		7			Second Dyn- asty	
222	3186		8				
223	3185		9				
224	3184		10	2	3142	(The First Dyn- asty lasted 263	2
225	3183		11	3	3141	years according	3
226	3182		12	4	3140	to Manetho, and	4
227	3181		13	5	3139	264 according to	5
228	3180	Death of Othib Merbi and acces- sion of She- memsu	1	6	3138	the Annals: pp.	6
				7	3137	9, 17, 61. Bu- tho reigned 47	7
				8	3136	years according	8
				9	3135	to Manetho ad- justed, and the	9
229	3179		2	10	3134	Annals: pp. 9,	10
230	3178	Feast of Birth of Anubis	3	11	3133	17, 62, 127.)	11
				12	3132		12
231	3177	(Shememsu reigned	4	13	3131		13
232	3176	9 years according	5	14	3130		14
233	3175	to the Annals:	6	15	3129		15
234	3174	pp. 9, 17, 61,	7	16	3128		16
235	3173	122.)	8	17	3127		17
236	3172		9	18	3126		18
237	3171	Death of Shemem- su and accession of Behu Bineth	1	19	3125		19
				20	3124		20
				21	3123		21
238	3170	(Behu reigned 28	2	22	3122		22
239	3169	years according	3	23	3121		23
240	3168	to the Annals:	4	24	3120		24
241	3167	pp. 9, 17, 61,	5	25	3119		25
242	3166	123.)	6	26	3118		26
243	3165		7	27	3117		27
244	3164		8	28	3116		28
245	3163		9	29	3115		29
246	3162		10	30	3114		30
247	3161		11	31	3113		31
248	3160		12	32	3112		32
249	3159		13	33	3111		33
250	3158		14	34	3110		34
251	3157		15	35	3109		35
252	3156		16	36	3108		36
253	3155		17	37	3107		37
254	3154		18	38	3106		38
255	3153		19	39	3105		39
256	3152		20	40	3104		40
257	3151		21	41	3103		41
258	3150		22	42	3102		42
259	3149		23	43	3101		43



Year of Dynasty.	Date B.C.	DATED EVENTS.	Year of Reign.	Year of Dynasty.	Date B.C.	DATED EVENTS.	Year of Reign.
44	3100		44	94	3050	Census	8
45	3099		45	95	3049	Search for a new	9
46	3098		46			Apis-bull	
47	3097		47	96	3048	Census	10
48	3096	Death of Butho and accession of Kekeu	1	97	3047	Feast of Sokar	11
				98	3046	Census	12
49	3095	(Kekeu reigned 39	2	99	3045	Great rebellion	13
50	3094	years according	3			and its suppres-	
51	3093	to the Annals and	4			sion in 363rd	
52	3092	Manetho: pp.	5			year since acces-	
53	3091	9, 17, 62, 129.)	6			sion of Menes	
54	3090		7	100	3044	Census	14
55	3089		8	101	3043	Search for a new	15
56	3088		9			Apis-bull	
57	3087		10	102	3042	Census	16
58	3086		11	103	3041	Feast of Sokar	17
59	3085		12	104	3040	Census	18
60	3084		13	105	3039	Imprisonment (?)	19
61	3083		14			of the queen-	
62	3082		15			mother. Feast	
63	3081		16			of Wathet	
64	3080		17	106	3038	Census	20
65	3079		18	107	3037	(Bineter reigned	21
66	3078		19	108	3036	38 years accord-	22
67	3077		20	109	3035	ing to the Annals	23
68	3076		21	110	3034	and Manetho ad-	24
69	3075		22	111	3033	justed: pp. 9,	25
70	3074		23	112	3032	17, 62, 134.)	26
71	3073		24	113	3031		27
72	3072		25	114	3030		28
73	3071		26	115	3029		29
74	3070		27	116	3028		30
75	3069		28	117	3027		31
76	3068		29	118	3026		32
77	3067		30	119	3025		33
78	3066		31	120	3024		34
79	3065		32	121	3023		35
80	3064		33	122	3022		36
81	3063		34	123	3021		37
82	3062		35	124	3020		38
83	3061		36	125	3019	Death of Bineter	1
84	3060		37			and accession of	
85	3059		38			Uothnes	
86	3058		39	126	3018	(Uothnes reigned	2
87	3057	Death of Kekeu	1	127	3017	17 years accord-	3
		and accession of		128	3016	ing to Manetho	4
		Bineter		129	3015	and the Annals:	5
88	3056	[Census]	2	130	3014	pp. 10, 17, 62,	6
89	3055		3	131	3013	135.)	7
90	3054	[Census]	4	132	3012		8
91	3053		5	133	3011		9
92	3052	[Census]	6	134	3010		10
93	3051	Planning of the	7	135	3009		11
		royal palace		136	3008		12
				137	3007		13

Year of Dynasty.	Date B.C.	DATED EVENTS.	Year of Reign.	Year of Dynasty.	Date B.C.	DATED EVENTS.	Year of Reign.
138	3006		14	189	2955		11
139	3005		15	190	2954		12
140	3004		16	191	2953		13
141	3003		17	192	2952		14
142	3002	Death of Uothnes and accession of Sendi	1	193	2951		15
				194	2950		16
143	3001	(Sendi reigned 37 years according to the Annals 1 pp. 10, 17, 62, 135.)	2	195	2949		17
144	3000		3	196	2948		18
145	2999		4	197	2947		19
146	2998		5	198	2946		20
147	2997		6	199	2945		21
148	2996		7	200	2944		22
149	2995		8	201	2943		23
150	2994		9	202	2942		24
151	2993		10	203	2941		25
152	2992		11	204	2940		26
153	2991		12	205	2939		27
154	2990		13	206	2938		28
155	2989		14	207	2937		29
156	2988		15	208	2936		30
157	2987		16	209	2935		31
158	2986		17	210	2934		32
159	2985		18	211	2933	Death of Neferkere and accession of Neferkesokar	1
160	2984		19				
161	2983		20				
162	2982		21	212	2932	(Neferkesokar reigned 8 years according to the Turin Papyrus and the Annals : pp. 4, 11, 17, 62, 137.)	2
163	2981		22	213	2931		3
164	2980		23	214	2930		4
165	2979		24	215	2929		5
166	2978		25	216	2928		6
167	2977		26	217	2927		7
168	2976		27	218	2926		8
169	2975		28	219	2925	Death of Neferkesokar and accession of Huthefi Kere	1
170	2974		29				
171	2973		30				
172	2972		31				
173	2971		32	220	2924	(Huthefi reigned 11 years according to the Turin Papyrus and the Annals : pp. 4, 11, 17, 62, 138.)	2
174	2970		33	221	2923		3
175	2969		34	222	2922		4
176	2968		35	223	2921		5
177	2967		36	224	2920		6
178	2966		37				
179	2965	Death of Sendi and accession of Neferkere	1	225	2919		7
				226	2918		8
180	2964	(Neferkere reigned 32 years, according to the Annals: pp. 11, 17, 62, 136.)	2	227	2917		9
181	2963		3	228	2916		10
182	2962		4	229	2915		11
183	2961		5	230	2914	Thethi Kheneri proclaimed Pharaoh in south, and Huthefi Kere restricted to north	1 12
184	2960		6				
185	2959		7				
186	2958		8				
187	2957		9				
188	2956		10				

Year of Dynasty.	Date B.C.	DATED EVENTS.	Year of Reign.	Year of Dynasty.	Date B.C.	DATED EVENTS.	Year of Reign.
231	2913	(Thethi reigned 27 years according to the Turin Papyrus and the Annals : pp. 4, 11, 17, 62, 142.)	2 13	8	2880	<i>Papyrus and the Annals : pp. 4, 11, 17, 62, 146.)</i>	8
232	2912		3 14	9	2879		9
233	2911		4 15	10	2878		10
234	2910		5 16	11	2877		11
235	2909		6 17	12	2876		12
236	2908		7 18	13	2875		13
237	2907		8 19	14	2874		14
238	2906		9 20	15	2873		15
239	2905		10 21	16	2872		16
240	2904		11	17	2871		17
		War between Thethi Kheneri and Huthafi Kere and death of latter		18	2870	Death of Nebkere Beby and accession of Thoser Retho	18
241	2903	[First census, i.e. after the war]	12	19	2869		19
242	2902		13	20	2868		1
243	2901	[Census]	14	21	2867		2
244	2900		15	22	2866		3
245	2899	[Census]	16	23	2865		4
246	2898		17	24	2864		5
247	2897	[Census]	18	25	2863		6
248	2896		19	26	2862		7
249	2895	[Census]	20	27	2861		8
250	2894		21	28	2860		9
251	2893	Census	22	29	2859		10
252	2892	Building of a temple of stone	23	30	2858		11
253	2891	Census	24	31	2857		12
254	2890	Making of a metal statue of the King	25	32	2856		13
				33	2855		14
255	2889	Census	26	34	2854		15
256	2888	Feast of Desher. Building of ships	27	35	2853		16
				36	2852		17
1	2887	Death of Thethi Kheneri; end of Second Dynasty; accession of Nebkere Beby and establishment of Third Dynasty	1	37	2851	Great famine, and visit of the King to Elephantine	18
				38	2850	Death of Thoser Retho and accession of Thoser-tati	19
				39	2849		1
				40	2848		2
2	2886	Entrance of the King between the pylons of the temple	2	41	2847		3
				42	2846		4
				43	2845		5
				44	2844		6
3	2885	Feast of the Birth of Min	3	45	2843		1
4	2884	Beginning of building of the royal palace	4	46	2842		2
5	2883	(Nebkere reigned 6 years according to the Turin Papyrus and the	5	47	2841		3
6	2882		6	48	2840		4
7	2881		7	49	2839		5

Year of Dynasty.	Date B.C.	DATED EVENTS.	Year of Reign.	Year of Dynasty.	Date B.C.	DATED EVENTS.	Year of Reign.
50	2838	<i>Annals</i> : pp. 4, 11, 17, 62, 152.)	6	87	2801		13
51	2837	Death of Nebkere Sethes Eke and accession of Neferkere Huni	1	88	2800		14
52	2836	( <i>Neferkere</i> reigned 24 years according to the Turin Papyrus and the <i>Annals</i> : pp. 4, 11, 12, 17, 62, 154.)	2	89	2799		15
53	2835		3	90	2798		16
54	2834		4	91	2797	Casing-stones, which completed pyramid structure, dated in this year	17
55	2833		5	92	2796		18
56	2832		6	93	2795		19
57	2831		7	94	2794		20
58	2830		8	95	2793		21
59	2829		9	96	2792		22
60	2828		10	97	2791		23
61	2827		11	98	2790		24
62	2826		12	I	2789	Death of Snofru ; end of Third Dynasty ; accession of Kheuf and establishment of Fourth Dynasty	1
63	2825		13	2	2788	( <i>Kheuf</i> reigned 23 years according to the Turin Papyrus and the <i>Annals</i> : pp. 4, 12, 17, 63, 165.)	2
64	2824		14	3	2787		3
65	2823		15	4	2786		4
66	2822		16	5	2785		5
67	2821		17	6	2784		6
68	2820		18	7	2783		7
69	2819		19	8	2782		8
70	2818		20	9	2781		9
71	2817		21	10	2780		10
72	2816		22	11	2779		11
73	2815		23	12	2778		12
74	2814		24	13	2777		13
75	2813	Death of Neferkere Huni and accession of Snofru	1	14	2776		14
76	2812	( <i>Snofru</i> reigned 24 years according to the Turin Papyrus and the <i>Annals</i> : pp. 4, 11, 12, 17, 62, 62, 156.)	2	15	2775		15
77	2811		3	16	2774		16
78	2810		4	17	2773	Roofing blocks of burial chamber in Great Pyramid dated in this year	17
79	2809		5	18	2772		18
80	2808		6	19	2771		19
81	2807		7	20	2770		20
82	2806		8	21	2769		21
83	2805	Making of two statues	9	22	2768		22
84	2804	Building of a fleet of ships ; expedition against negroes ; expedition to Lebanon	10	23	2767		23
85	2803	Building of a large ship. Building of temples. Census	11	24	2766	Death of Kheuf and accession of Redadef	1
86	2802	Erection of the doors of the palace. Census	12	25	2765	( <i>Redadef</i> reigned 8 years according to the Turin	2
				26	2764		3
				27	2763		4

Year of Dynasty.	Date B.C.	DATED EVENTS.	Year of Reign.	Year of Dynasty.	Date B.C.	DATED EVENTS.	Year of Reign.
28	2762	<i>Papyrus and the</i>	5	72	2718	<i>ing to the Turin</i>	4
29	2761	<i>Annals : pp. 4,</i>	6			<i>Papyrus and</i>	
30	2760	<i>12, 17, 63, 173.)</i>	7			<i>the Annals</i>	
31	2759		8			<i>pp. 4, 12, 17, 63,</i>	
32	2758	Death of Redadef	1			<i>186.)</i>	
		and accession of		73	2717	Death of Shepses-	1
		Khefre				kef and acces-	
33	2757	( <i>Khefre reigned 18</i>	2			sion of Iemhotpe	
34	2756	<i>years according to</i>	3	74	2716	( <i>Iemhotpe reigned</i>	2
35	2755	<i>the Annals : pp.</i>	4			<i>2 years accord-</i>	
36	2754	<i>12, 13, 17, 63,</i>	5			<i>ing to the Turin</i>	
37	2753	<i>175.)</i>	6			<i>Papyrus and the</i>	
38	2752		7			<i>Annals : pp. 4,</i>	
39	2751		8			<i>12, 17, 63, 189.)</i>	
40	2750		9	1	2715	Death of Iem-	1
41	2749		10			hotpe ; end of	
42	2748		11			Fourth Dynasty,	
43	2747		12			accession of Us-	
44	2746		13			erkef and estab-	
45	2745		14			lishment of Fifth	
46	2744		15			Dynasty	
47	2743		16	2	2714		2
48	2742		17	3	2713	[Census]	3
49	2741		18	4	2712	'Year after cen-	4
50	2740	Death of Khefre	1			'sus'	
		and accession of		5	2711		5
		Shero		6	2710	Gifts made to	6
51	2739	Death of Shero	1			gods. Census	
		and accession of		7	2709		7
		Menkeure		8	2708	Death of Userkef	1
52	2738	( <i>Shero reigned 1</i>	2			and accession of	
53	2737	<i>year according to</i>	3			Sahure	
54	2736	<i>the Annals : pp.</i>	4	9	2707	( <i>Userkef reigned 7</i>	2
55	2735	<i>12, 17, 63, 179.</i>	5	10	2706	<i>years according to</i>	3
56	2734	<i>Menkeure reigned</i>	6	11	2705	<i>the Turin Papy-</i>	4
57	2733	<i>18 years accord-</i>	7	12	2704	<i>rus and the An-</i>	5
58	2732	<i>ing to the Turin</i>	8	13	2703	<i>nals : pp. 4, 13,</i>	6
59	2731	<i>Papyrus and the</i>	9	14	2702	<i>17, 63, 193. Sa-</i>	7
60	2730	<i>Annals : pp. 4,</i>	10	15	2701	<i>hure reigned 12</i>	8
61	2729	<i>12, 17, 63, 182.)</i>	11	16	2700	<i>years according</i>	9
62	2728		12	17	2699	<i>to the Turin Pa-</i>	10
63	2727		13	18	2698	<i>pyrus and the</i>	11
64	2726		14			<i>Annals : pp. 4,</i>	
65	2725		15			<i>13, 17, 63.)</i>	
66	2724		16	19	2697	Gifts made to the	12
67	2723		17			gods. Census	
68	2722		18	20	2696	Death of Sahure	1
69	2721	Death of Men-	1			and accession of	
		keure and acces-				Kherenefre Nef-	
		sion of Shepses-		21	2695	erefre	
		kef. Selection		22	2694	( <i>Kherenefre reigned</i>	2
		of site of pyra-		23	2693	<i>4 years according</i>	3
		mid				<i>to the Annals :</i>	4
70	2720	( <i>Shepseskhef reigned</i>	2			<i>pp. 13, 17, 63,</i>	
71	2719	<i>4 years accord-</i>	3			<i>198.)</i>	

Year of Dynasty.	Date B.C.	DATED EVENTS.	Year of Reign.	Year of Dynasty.	Date B.C.	DATED EVENTS.	Year of Reign.
24	2692	Death of Kherenefere Neferefre and accession of Shepseskere Isesi	1	63	2653	Death of Nuserre Ratho and accession of Menkeuhor	1
25	2691	(Shepseskere	2	64	2652	(Menkeuhor	2
26	2690	reigned 7 years	3	65	2651	reigned 8 years	3
27	2689	according to the	4	66	2650	according to the	4
28	2688	Turin Papyrus,	5	67	2649	Turin Papyrus	5
29	2687	Manetho, and the Annals : pp. 4, 13, 17, 63, 199.)	6	68	2648	and the Annals :	6
				69	2647	pp. 4, 14, 17, 63, 206.)	7
30	2686	[Census]	7	70	2646		8
31	2685	Death of Shepseskere Isesi and accession of Nef-erirkere Kekei (Neferirkere	1	71	2645	Death of Menkeuhor and accession of Dadkere Isesi	1
				72	2644	(Dadkere reigned	2
32	2684	reigned 21 years	2	73	2643	28 years according to the Turin	3
33	2683	according to the	3	74	2642	Papyrus : pp. 4, 17, 63, 210.)	4
34	2682	Turin Papyrus	4	75	2641		5
35	2681	and the Annals :	5	76	2640		6
36	2680	pp. 4, 13, 14, 17, 63, 202.)	6	77	2639		7
37	2679		7	78	2638	Probable date of the making of the great Table of the Annals (Palermo Stone)	8
38	2678		8				
39	2677		9				
40	2676		10	79	2637		9
41	2675		11	80	2636		10
42	2674		12	81	2635		11
43	2673		13	82	2634		12
44	2672	Work on the sun-temple. Census	14	83	2633		13
				84	2632		14
45	2671	Work on the barques of the Sun	15	85	2631		15
				86	2630		16
46	2670		16	87	2629		17
47	2669		17	88	2628		18
48	2668		18	89	2627		19
49	2667		19	90	2626		20
50	2666		20	91	2625		21
51	2665		21	92	2624		22
52	2664	Death of Neferirkere Kekei and accession of Nuserre Ratho	1	93	2623		23
				94	2622		24
53	2663	(Nuserre reigned	2	95	2621		25
54	2662	11 years according to the Turin	3	96	2620		26
55	2661	Papyrus and the	4	97	2619		27
56	2660	Annals : pp. 4, 14, 17, 63, 203.)	5	98	2618		28
57	2659		6	99	2617	Death of Dadkere Isesi and accession of Unnos	1
58	2658		7				
59	2657		8	100	2616	(Unnos reigned 30 years according to the Turin	2
60	2656		9	101	2615	Papyrus : pp. 4, 17, 63, 214.)	3
61	2655		10	102	2614		4
62	2654		11	103	2613		5
				104	2612		6
				105	2611		7

Year of Dynasty.	Date B.C.	DATED EVENTS.	Year of Reign.	Year of Dynasty.	Date B.C.	DATED EVENTS.	Year of Reign.
106	2610		8	18	2570	<i>ording to the</i>	4 10
107	2609		9	19	2569	<i>Turin Papyrus :</i>	5 11
108	2608		10	20	2568	<i>pp. 16, 18, 64,</i>	6 12
109	2607		11	21	2567	<i>224.)</i>	7 13
110	2606		12	22	2566		8 14
111	2605		13	23	2565		9 15
112	2604		14	24	2564		10 16
113	2603		15	25	2563		11 17
114	2602		16	26	2562		12 18
115	2601		17	27	2561		13 19
116	2600		18	28	2560		14 20
117	2599		19	29	2559		15 21
118	2598		20	30	2558		16 22
119	2597		21	31	2557		17 23
120	2596		22	32	2556		18 24
121	2595		23	33	2555		19 25
122	2594		24	34	2554	Celebration of Jubilee ; in- scriptions at Hetnub, Sinai, and Hammamât	20 26
123	2593		25				
124	2592		26				
125	2591		27				
126	2590		28				
127	2589		29	35	2553	Death of Meryre Piop and acces- sion of Merenre Mehtiemisuf	I
128	2588		30				
I	2587	Death of Unnos ; end of Fifth Dynasty ; ac- cession of Toti and establish- ment of Sixth Dynasty	I				
				36	2552	<i>(Merenre reigned 4</i>	2
				37	2551	<i>years according</i>	3
				38	2550	<i>to the Turin Pa- pyrus : pp. 18, 64, 238.)</i>	4
2	2586	<i>(Toti and Userkere</i>	2	39	2549	Death of Merenre Mehtiemisuf and accession of Nef- erkere Piop at age of 6	I
3	2585	<i>together reigned</i>	3				
4	2584	<i>14 years accord-</i>	4				
5	2583	<i>ing to indirect</i>	5				
6	2582	<i>evidence : pp.</i>	6				
7	2581	<i>16, 18, 64, 218,</i>	7	40	2548	Letter of King to Herkhuf dated in this year	2
8	2580	<i>223.)</i>	8				
9	2579	Death of Toti and usurpation of throne by User- kere	I I	41	2547		3
				42	2546		4
				43	2545		5
10	2578	Expedition to Hammamât	2 2	44	2544	Inscription at Hetnub	6
11	2577		3 3	45	2543	<i>(Neferkere Piop</i>	7
12	2576		4 4	46	2542	<i>reigned 90 years</i>	8
13	2575		5 5	47	2541	<i>according to the</i>	9
14	2574		6 6	48	2540	<i>Turin Papyrus :</i>	10
15	2573	Death of Userkere and accession of Meryre Piop who sometimes dated his reign from death of Toti	I 7	49	2539	<i>pp. 18, 64, 249.)</i>	11
				50	2538		12
				51	2537		13
				52	2536		14
				53	2535		15
				54	2534		16
16	2572	<i>(Meryre reigned 20</i>	2 8	55	2533		17
17	2571	<i>=26 years ac-</i>	3 9	56	2532		18

Year of Dynasty.	Date B.C.	DATED EVENTS.	Year of Reign.	Year of Dynasty.	Date B.C.	DATED EVENTS.	Year of Reign.
57	2531	The King now 25 years of age	19	109	2479		71
58	2530		20	110	2478		72
59	2529		21	111	2477		73
60	2528		22	112	2476		74
61	2527		23	113	2475		75
62	2526		24	114	2474		76
63	2525		25	115	2473		77
64	2524		26	116	2472		78
65	2523		27	117	2471		79
66	2522		28	118	2470		80
67	2521		29	119	2469		81
68	2520		30	120	2468		82
69	2519		31	121	2467		83
70	2518		32	122	2466		84
71	2517	The King now 90 years of age	33	123	2465		85
72	2516		34	124	2464		86
73	2515		35	125	2463		87
74	2514		36	126	2462		88
75	2513		37	127	2461		89
76	2512		38	128	2460		90
77	2511		39	129	2459	Death of Nefer- kere Piop at age of 96, and acces- sion of Merenre Mehtiamsuf	I
78	2510		40				
79	2509		41				
80	2508		42				
81	2507		43				
82	2506		44	I	2458	Death of Merenre Mehtiamsuf, end of Sixth Dynas- ty; beginning of 6 kingless years	—
83	2505		45				
84	2504	The King now 50 years of age	46				
85	2503		47				
86	2502		48	2	2457	(Merenre reigned 1 year according to the Turin Pa- pyrus: pp. 18, 64, 251. For the 6 kingless years and the 955 years total in the Turin Papyrus, see p. 16.)	—
87	2501		49	3	2456		—
88	2500		50	4	2455		—
89	2499		51	5	2454		—
90	2498		52				
91	2497		53				
92	2496		54				
93	2495		55				
94	2494		56				
95	2493		57				
96	2492		58	6	2453	Last year of the 955 years' per- iod from acces- sion of Menes as recorded in Tu- rin Papyrus	—
97	2491		59				
98	2490		60				
99	2489		61				
100	2488		62				
101	2487		63				
102	2486		64	I	2452	Accession of Ne- terkere and es- tablishment of Seventh Dyn- asty	I
103	2485		65				
104	2484		66				
105	2483		67				
106	2482		68				
107	2481		69	2	2451	(The Seventh Dyn- asty lasted 75 years according	2
108	2480		70	3	2450		3
				4	2449		4



Year of Dynasty.	Date. B.C.	DATED EVENTS.	Year of Reign.	Year of Dynasty.	Date B.C.	DATED EVENTS.	Year of Reign.
5	2448	<i>to the Turin Papyrus and Manetho : pp. 18, 253. Length of reign of Neterkere unknown.)</i>	5	48	2405		9
				49	2404		10
				50	2403		11
				51	2402		12
				52	2401		13
				53	2400		14
6	2447	Death of Neterkere and accession of Nitokri	1	54	2399		15
		(Nitokri reigned		55	2398		16
7	2446	12 years according to Manetho : p. 256.)	2	56	2397		17
8	2445		3	57	2396		18
9	2444		4	58	2395		19
10	2443		5	59	2394		20
11	2442		6	60	2393		21
12	2441		7	61	2392		22
13	2440		8	62	2391		23
14	2439		9	63	2390		24
15	2438		10	64	2389	Death of Neferkere Neby and accession of Dedkeshemire	1
16	2437		11				
17	2436		12				
18	2435	Death of Nitokri and accession of Neferkere Hunu	1	65	2388	(Dedkeshemire reigned 12 years according to Eratosthenes : p. 256.)	2
19	2434	(Neferkere perhaps reigned 22 years according to Eratosthenes : p. 256.)	2	66	2387		3
20	2433		3	67	2386		4
21	2432		4	68	2385		5
22	2431		5	69	2384		6
23	2430		6	70	2383		7
24	2429		7	71	2382		8
25	2428		8	72	2381		9
26	2427		9	73	2380		10
27	2426		10	74	2379		11
28	2425		11	75	2378		12
29	2424		12	1	2377	Death of Dedkeshemire of Seventh Dynasty and accession of 1st King of Eighth Dynasty	1
30	2423		13				
31	2422		14				
32	2421		15				
33	2420		16				
34	2419		17	2	2376	(The Eighth Dynasty lasted 106 years according to Manetho and the Turin Papyrus : pp. 18, 65, 257.)	2
35	2418		18	3	2375		3
36	2417		19	4	2374		4
37	2416		20	5	2373		5
38	2415		21				
39	2414		22				
40	2413	Death of Neferkere Hunu and accession of Neferkere Neby	1	6	2372	Accession of 2nd King of Eighth Dynasty ?	1
		(Length of reign of Neferkere Neby unknown, but about 24 years is required by the total for the dynasty : p. 256.)		7	2371	(Lengths of reigns of first 7 Kings unknown.)	2
41	2412		2	8	2370		3
42	2411		3	9	2369		4
43	2410		4	10	2368		5
44	2409		5	11	2367		6
45	2408		6	12	2366	Accession of 3rd King of Eighth Dynasty ?	1
46	2407		7				
47	2406		8				

Year of Dynasty.	Date B.C.	DATED EVENTS.	Year of Reign.	Year of Dynasty.	Date B.C.	DATED EVENTS.	Year of Reign.
13	2365		2	56	2322		7
14	2364		3	57	2321		8
15	2363		4	58	2320	Accession of 10th King of Eighth Dynasty ?	1
16	2362		5				
17	2361		6	59	2319	(Length of reign unknown.)	2
18	2360	Accession of 4th King of Eighth Dynasty ?	1	60	2318		3
				61	2317		4
19	2359		2	62	2316		5
20	2358		3	63	2315		6
21	2357		4	64	2314		7
22	2356		5	65	2313		8
23	2355		6	66	2312	Accession of 11th King of Eighth Dynasty ?	1
24	2354	Accession of 5th King of Eighth Dynasty ?	1				
				67	2311	(Reigned 18 years according to Era- sthenes : pp. 65, 260.)	2
25	2353		2	68	2310		3
26	2352		3	69	2309		4
27	2351		4	70	2308		5
28	2350		5	71	2307		6
29	2349		6	72	2306		7
30	2348	Accession of 6th King of Eighth Dynasty ?	1	73	2305		8
				74	2304		9
				75	2303		10
31	2347		2	76	2302		11
32	2346		3	77	2301		12
33	2345		4	78	2300		13
34	2344		5	79	2299		14
35	2343		6	80	2298		15
36	2342	Accession of 7th King of Eighth Dynasty ?	1	81	2297		16
				82	2296		17
				83	2295		18
37	2341		2	84	2294	Accession of 12th King of Eighth Dynasty ?	1
38	2340		3				
39	2339		4	85	2293	(Length of reign unknown.)	2
40	2338		5	86	2292		3
41	2337		6	87	2291		4
42	2336	Accession of 8th King of Eighth Dynasty ?	1	88	2290	Accession of 13th King of Eighth Dynasty ?	1
43	2335	(Reigned 8 years according to Era- sthenes : pp. 65, 260.)	2	89	2289	(Length of reign unknown.)	2
44	2334		3	90	2288		3
45	2333		4	91	2287		4
46	2332		5	92	2286		5
47	2331		6	93	2285	Accession of 14th King of Eighth Dynasty ?	1
48	2330		7				
49	2329		8	94	2284	(Length of reign unknown.)	2
50	2328	Accession of 9th King of Eighth Dynasty ?	1	95	2283		3
				96	2282		4
51	2327	(Length of reign unknown.)	2	97	2281		5
52	2326		3	98	2280	Accession of 15th King of Eighth Dynasty	1
53	2325		4				
54	2324		5				
55	2323		6				

Year of Dynasty.	Date B.C.	DATED EVENTS.	Year of Reign.	Year of Dynasty.	Date B.C.	DATED EVENTS.	Year of Reign.
99	2279	( <i>Reigned 2 years, Turin Papyrus: pp. 65, 261.</i> )	2	105	2273	( <i>Reigned 2 years, Turin Papyrus: pp. 65, 261.</i> )	2
100	2278	Accession of 16th King of Eighth Dynasty	1	106	2272	Accession of 18th King of Eighth Dynasty, whose death in following year ended dynasty	1
101	2277	( <i>Reigned 4 years, Turin Papyrus: pp. 65, 261.</i> )	2				
102	2276		3				
103	2275		4				
104	2274	Accession of 17th King of Eighth Dynasty	1				

Year of Dynasty		Date B.C.	DATED EVENTS.	Year of Reign.	Year of Dynasty		Date B.C.	DATED EVENTS.	Year of Reign.
IX and X	XI				IX and X	XI			
1	1	2271	Accession of Wahkere Akhtoi of Ninth Dynasty and Wahenkh Intef of Eleventh	1 1	14	14	2258	<i>years: p. 264.</i>	7 14
			( <i>The Ninth and Eleventh Dynasties were contemporaneous: pp. 19, 263.</i> )	2 2	15	15	2257	<i>Wahenkh Intef reigned 50</i>	8 15
2	2	2270		3 3	16	16	2256		9 16
3	3	2269		4 4	17	17	2255	<i>years: pp. 19, 264, 290.)</i>	10 17
4	4	2268		5 5	18	18	2254		11 18
5	5	2267		6 6	19	19	2253		12 19
6	6	2266		7 7	20	20	2252	Death of Meryibre Akhtoi and accession of Nebkeure Akhtoi of Ninth Dynasty	1 20
7	7	2265	<i>The Eleventh Dynasty lasted 160 years according to the Turin Papyrus and Manetho adjusted: pp. 19, 263.)</i>		21	21	2251	War between Ninth and Eleventh Dynasties about this year	2 21
					22	22	2250	( <i>Nebkeure reigned about 25 years: p. 264.</i> )	3 22
8	8	2264	Death of Wahkere Akhtoi and accession of Meryibre Akhtoi of Ninth Dynasty	1 8	23	23	2249		4 23
					24	24	2248		5 24
					25	25	2247		6 25
					26	26	2246		7 26
					27	27	2245		8 27
					28	28	2244		9 28
					29	29	2243		10 29
					30	30	2242		11 30
9	9	2263	( <i>Wahkere reigned 7 years: p. 264.</i> )	2 9	31	31	2241		12 31
10	10	2262		3 10	32	32	2240		13 32
11	11	2261		4 11	33	33	2239		14 33
12	12	2260	<i>Meryibre reigned 12</i>	5 12	34	34	2238		15 34
13	13	2259		6 13	35	35	2237		16 35

Year of Dynasty.		Date. B.C.	DATED EVENTS.	Year of Reign.	Year of Dynasty.		Date. B.C.	DATED EVENTS.	Year of Reign.		
IX and X	XI				IX and X	XI					
36	36	2236		17	36	10	60	2212	Accession of 4th King of Tenth Dynasty?	1	10
37	37	2235		18	37						
38	38	2234		19	38						
39	39	2233		20	39						
40	40	2232		21	40	11	61	2211	Death of Nakht-nebtepnefer and accession of Senkhibtoui Mentuhotpe of Eleventh Dynasty	2	1
41	41	2231		22	41						
42	42	2230		23	42						
43	43	2229		24	43						
44	44	2228		25	44						
45	45	2227	Death of Nebkeure Akhtoi and accession of Merykere Akhtoi of Ninth Dynasty	1	45						
						12	62	2210		3	2
						13	63	2209	Accession of 5th King of Tenth Dynasty?	1	3
46	46	2226	(Merykere	2	46	14	64	2208	(Senkhibtoui	2	4
47	47	2225	reigned about	3	47	15	65	2207	reigned 15	3	5
48	48	2224	6 years: p.	4	48				years: p. 19.)		
49	49	2223	264.)	5	49	16	66	2206	Accession of 6th King of Tenth Dynasty?	1	6
50	50	2222	Wahenkh Intef completed his tomb and set up his mortuary inscription	6	50						
						17	67	2205		2	7
						18	68	2204		3	8
						19	69	2203	Accession of 7th King of Tenth Dynasty?	1	9
1	51	2221	Death of Merykere Akhtoi and accession of 1st King of Tenth Dynasty. Death of Wahenkh Intef and accession of Nakht-nebtepnefer	1	1						
						20	70	2202		2	10
						21	71	2201		3	11
						22	72	2200	Accession of 8th King of Tenth Dynasty?	1	12
2	52	2220	(Lengths of reigns in Tenth Dynasty unknown.)	2	2	23	73	2199	Accession of 9th King of Tenth Dynasty?	1	13
3	53	2219		3	3	24	74	2198	Rebellion of Theni, and outbreak of war between Eleventh and Tenth Dynasties	2	14
4	54	2218	Death of 1st King and accession of 2nd King of Tenth Dynasty?	1	4						
5	55	2217	(Nakhtnebpnefer reigned about 10 years: p. 19.)	2	5	25	75	2197	Senkhibtoui proclaimed Pharaoh of all Egypt, and end of the Tenth Dynasty	15	
6	56	2216		3	6						
7	57	2215	Accession of 3rd King of Tenth Dynasty?	1	7						
8	58	2214		2	8						
9	59	2213		3	9						

## A HISTORY OF THE PHARAOHS

Year of Dynasty.	Date B.C.	DATED EVENTS.	Year of Reign.	Year of Dynasty.	Date B.C.	DATED EVENTS.	Year of Reign.
76	2196	Death of Senkhibtoui and accession of Nebheptre Mentuhotpe	1	124	2148		24
				125	2147		25
				126	2146		26
				127	2145		27
				128	2144		28
77	2195	(The Tenth Dynasty was ended in the 15th year of Senkhibtoui : pp. 19, 280, 294.)	2	129	2143		29
78	2194		3	130	2142		30
79	2193		4	131	2141		31
80	2192		5	132	2140		32
81	2191		6	133	2139		33
82	2190		7	134	2138		34
83	2189	(Nebheptre reigned about 25 years : p. 19.)	8	135	2137		35
84	2188		9	136	2136		36
85	2187		10	137	2135		37
86	2186		11	138	2134		38
87	2185		12	139	2133		39
88	2184		13	140	2132		40
89	2183		14	141	2131	Expedition to Lower Nubia	41
90	2182		15				
91	2181		16	142	2130		42
92	2180		17	143	2129		43
93	2179		18	144	2128		44
94	2178		19	145	2127		45
95	2177		20	146	2126	Inscription of Meru dated in this year	46
96	2176		21				
97	2175		22				
98	2174		23	147	2125		47
99	2173		24	148	2124	Death of Nebhapetre and accession of Senkhkhere Mentuhotpe	1
100	2172		25				
101	2171	Death of Nebheptre and accession of Nebhapetre Mentuhotpe	1				
				149	2123	(Senkhkhere reigned 10 years : p. 19 ; and Nebtoui re 3 years : p. 19.)	2
102	2170		2	150	2122		3
103	2169		3	151	2121		4
104	2168		4	152	2120		5
105	2167		5	153	2119		6
106	2166		6	154	2118		7
107	2165		7	155	2117	Expedition to Hammamât	8
108	2164		8	156	2116		9
109	2163		9	157	2115		10
110	2162		10	158	2114	Death of Senkhkhere and accession of Nebtoui Mentuhotpe	1
111	2161		11				
112	2160		12				
113	2159		13				
114	2158		14				
115	2157		15	159	2113	First Jubilee of Nebtoui, and expedition to Hammamât	2
116	2156		16				
117	2155		17				
118	2154		18				
119	2153		19	160	2112		3
120	2152		20		2111	Deposition of Nebtoui and end of Eleventh Dynasty	
121	2151		21				
122	2150		22				
123	2149		23				

## THE EGYPTIAN METHOD OF RECKONING THE REGNAL YEARS

In the above table there is one point which needs to be explained. On page 24 of the previous volume of this History I have endeavoured to show that the years of a king's reign were reckoned as coinciding with the calendar years, from New Year's Day to New Year's Day: that is to say, the second year of a king's reign began on the first calendar New Year's Day after his accession, or, in other words, the last calendar year of any reign, incomplete at the monarch's death, became the first year of the next reign, and this first year ended on the last day of the calendar year, however soon after the late king's death the day might fall. Thus the "Year 1" of any reign might really consist of only a small fraction of a year. For instance, if a king died, let us say, on the 20th day of the 10th month of the calendar year in the 10th year of his reign, he would be recorded as having reigned 9 years 9 months and 19 days, and the remaining 2 months and 11 days of the calendar year would be the "Year 1" of his successor, after which "Year 2" would begin. Thus, in the foregoing list I have placed, in each case, the death of a Pharaoh and the accession of his successor in the same year, that year being called "Year 1" of the new king. This I believe to be the correct Egyptian method of numbering the regnal years; but as it has generally been thought that each king began his "Year 1" on the day of the death of his predecessor, and that this "Year 1" ran its full course of 365 days, "Year 2" beginning on the anniversary of his accession, and that thus his regnal years had no connection with the calendar years, it will be as well to give my argument here at some length.

We must begin with the evidence of the Palermo Stone annals, as shown on the diagram facing page 4 of the previous volume. There it will be seen that the last year of the reign of Mencheres (Year 687 of the annals) ends with "4 months and 24 days," and that the first year of his successor, Sebercheres, begins with "7 months and 11 days," making a total of 365 days, the Egyptian year consisting of 12 months of 30 days each, i.e. 360 days, plus 5 intercalary days at the end. Again, the last year of the reign of Sisires (Year 723 of the annals) ends with "9 months and 28 days," and the first year

of his successor, Nephhercheres, begins with "2 months and 7 days," thus also making 365 days. This seems to show pretty certainly that the "Year 1" of Sebercheres consisted of only the 7 months and 11 days which remained of the calendar year, and that his "Year 2" was thus made to begin on the New Year's Day of the calendar; and, similarly, that the "Year 1" of Nephhercheres consisted of only the 2 months and 7 days which remained of the calendar year, and his "Year 2" began, likewise, on the New Year's Day of the calendar. The point is settled, however, by the fact that at the end of the reign of Menes (Year 63 of the annals) we have "6 months and 7 days," and the reign of his successor, Athothis, begins with "4 months and 13 days," giving a total which is 45 days short of the 365. Now, as I have explained on pages 24 and 25 of the previous volume, the calendar was instituted by Menes, whose regnal years, therefore, could not be made to synchronize with the calendar years, the calendar having not been in use when he came to the throne. The "6 months and 7 days" written at the end of his reign means, thus, that he reigned altogether 62 years 6 months and 7 days, reckoning from the actual day of his accession, and that his reign ended on the 22nd day of the 7th month of the calendar year, leaving 4 months and 13 days of the calendar year to be regarded as "Year 1" of his successor. This fact clearly proves that each Pharaoh's regnal years were made to synchronize with the calendar years, each regnal year beginning on the New Year's day of the calendar.

This method of calculation was an obvious and practical system by which the ancient Egyptians maintained the continuity of their chronology, and in the briefest and clearest way recorded in a single phrase the length of each reign, the calendar date of the death of each Pharaoh, and the calendar date of the accession of his successor. All they had to do was to say that a Pharaoh reigned, as in the case of Mencheres, 18 years 4 months and 24 days, and the reader could see that he died on the 25th day of the 5th month of the calendar in the 19th year of his reign. Now in the great king-list in the Turin Papyrus, we have the reigns given in years, months, and days wherever they were known. Thus, for example, the reign of Chenneres (Thethi) is recorded as "27 years and 2

months." But on the Palermo Stone the annals of that reign happen to have been preserved, and we find the reign ending with the fraction "2 months and 3 days," which confirms the Turin Papyrus, and shows that in that list, as in the Palermo Stone annals, the fraction in months and days at the end of a reign gives us the *calendar date* of the king's death. Therefore, when the Turin Papyrus states, for instance, that Sobknofrure, the last sovereign of the Twelfth Dynasty, reigned "3 years 10 months and 24 days," the meaning is that that ruler's death occurred on the 25th day of the 11th month of the calendar, in the 4th year of the reign. Now, there can be little question that Manetho derived his figures for the reigns from some such source as the Turin Papyrus; and therefore we may say that his fractions of a year, when they are stated at the end of the figure for a reign, are also calendrical. Thus when he states, for example, that Amessis (Hetshepsut) reigned "21 years and 9 months," he must mean, as would the Turin Papyrus or the Palermo Stone annals, that that sovereign died in the 10th calendar month in the 22nd year of her reign.

This is confirmed by a curious little fact. In his record of the Eighteenth Dynasty, as quoted by Josephus, Manetho states the fraction in months at the end of the reigns (page 235). For Amenhotpe I he gives "25 years and 4 months"; for Thutmose II, "20 years and 7 months"; for Hetshepsut, "21 years and 9 months"; for Thutmose III, "12 years and 9 months"; and so on. But for Thutmose I he gives "13 years" exactly, without a fraction. Now Thutmose I, as is shown on page 281, died on New Year's Day; and therefore, since the regnal years synchronized with the calendar years, there would have been no fraction at the end of the figure of his years. This proves, thus, both that the regnal years *did* coincide with the calendar years, and that Manetho, like the Turin Papyrus, reckoned them in this way.

Another point may be noted. Thutmose III waged war in Syria between April and July every year for a number of years, but in "Year 32" there was no campaign, and the omission calls for an explanation, which is provided by the fact that this was the holy year of his Jubilee, that is to say the year after the completion of a 30-years period of office.



Now, if the regnal years had begun to be counted from the day of his accession, which happened to fall on the 4th day of the 1st month of the 3rd season, then the 31st or jubilee year would have begun on that date in "Year 31," and would have been over by "Year 32," and therefore the omission of the annual campaign in "Year 32" would not be explained. But if the regnal years dated from New Year's Day, then the first calendar year of the reign would only be completed on New Year's Day of "Year 3," and hence the jubilee year would be "Year 32," and thus the omission of a campaign in that sacred year would be explained. That "Year 32" was undoubtedly the jubilee year is shown by the fact that the next two jubilees were held in the 42nd and 52nd years, as I shall show on pages 387 and 395, that is to say after periods of 10 years.

We may next notice a more definite piece of evidence. The day on which Amenhotpe III succeeded to the throne is known to have been the 2nd day of the 3rd month of the 1st season (Rock inscription at Aswân, Lepsius: *Denkmäler*, III, 81). Now, the famous scarab-inscription, relating to the making of his pleasure-lake, states that the work was begun in Year 11, 1st day of the 3rd month of the 1st season (i.e. the day before the anniversary of his accession), and was completed on the 16th day of the 3rd month of the 1st season in the same year. But if the years were dated from the king's accession, then, since the earlier date was in "Year 11," the later date would have been in "Year 12," and not in "Year 11." Hence, we see again that the regnal years must have coincided with the calendar years. Evidence which is even more conclusive is to be found in the Serapeum stela of Psammetichus I (Piehl: *Insc.* I, xxii), where we read that an Apis bull died in "Year 20, 21st day of the 4th month of the 3rd season," and was buried in "Year 21, 25th day of the 2nd month of the 1st season," that is to say 69 days later. New Year's Day fell between these two dates, and, sure enough, "Year 20" ended and "Year 21" began, thus showing that the calendar years and the regnal years coincided. Finally the Serapeum Stela of Apries (Piehl: *Insc.* I, xxi) settles the matter completely; for exact dates in the life of an Apis are there given, and a simple calculation will show (as Breasted, *Records* IV, § 984,

has seen but has not applied) that the last unfinished year of Psammetichus II became "Year 1" of Apries, and that the latter's "Year 2" began on New Year's Day.

If, then, we accept this conclusion that each Pharaoh, throughout Egyptian history, dated the beginning of "Year 2" of his reign at the first New Year's Day after his accession, and I think the above arguments prove this to be so beyond question, then we must give a new interpretation to two instances of regnal dating which have generally been accepted as showing, on the contrary, that the Pharaohs dated the beginning of their "Year 2" from the anniversary of their accession, and not from New Year's Day. I refer to the date on the first obelisks erected by Queen Hetshepsut, and the date of the beginning of the campaigns of Thutmose III.

Let us first take the former instance. On her obelisk Queen Hetshepsut (page 288) states that the work was begun in "Year 15, 1st day of the 2nd month of the 2nd season (6th month)," and continued until "Year 16, 30th day of the 4th month of the 3rd season (12th month)." Now this has always been supposed to mean that the work lasted for 7 continuous months in one calendar year, that is to say from the beginning of the 6th month to the end of the 12th month, and that sometime between these two dates the regnal year changed from "Year 15" to "Year 16." But the regnal years which the Queen was then using were those of the reign of her husband, Thutmose II (page 288); and even if his regnal years had nothing to do with the calendar, and were reckoned as beginning at the date of his predecessor's death, such a period of 7 months would not include the date of the change from one regnal year to the next, for his predecessor was Thutmose I, who died on the 1st day of the 1st month of the 1st season (New Year's Day), i.e. 5 days later than the stated end of the period. Therefore, it is clear that the period from Year 15, 1st day of the 6th month, to Year 16, last day of the 12th month, is 19 months, not 7 months, and thus includes the New Year's Day on which the regnal year changed from "Year 15" to "Year 16."

Secondly, we need to explain the dating at the beginning of the Karnak annals of the campaigns of Thutmose III (page 335). This chronicle begins with the date "Year 22, 25th day

of the 4th month of the 2nd season (8th month)," and states that the king was then at Tharu, the Egyptian outpost on the eastern frontier, the starting point for his campaign against Syria. Then comes a break in the inscription, followed by a statement that there was trouble in Egypt and a revolt in Syria; and then follows the date "Year 23, 4th day of the 1st month of the 3rd season (9th month)," and the record that this was the day of the anniversary of the king's accession, and that he was then at Gaza, on the outskirts of Syria. Now it has generally been supposed that these dates belong to the same calendar year, the second being 9 days later than the first; and that the earlier date fell at the end of the "Year 22," but that the later date, which was the anniversary of the king's accession, began his "Year 23," thus showing that his regnal years were reckoned from that anniversary and not from New Year's Day. But here, as I shall explain on page 336, the explanation is that the campaign of the "Year 22" was abandoned owing to the death of the king's co-regent, Queen Hetshepsut, and hostilities were resumed a year later, in the "Year 23" which had begun on the intervening New Year's Day. Hetshepsut reigned, according to Manetho, "21 years and 9 months," that is to say she died in the 10th month of the 22nd year of the reign, a few weeks after the arrival of Thutmose III at Tharu; and this fact provides full justification for supposing that a year elapsed between the two dates mentioned above, and that some reference to the postponement of the war was given in the lacuna, as will be explained on page 336. Confirmation of this is to be found in the fact that the bringing in of the tribute after the campaign of "Year 23" is dated in "Year 24" in the annals; for New Year's Day of that year fell on about August 11th, and by that time the war was over and the king was back in Thebes, so that though the campaign was fought in "Year 23," the tribute which immediately came in arrived in "Year 24." Moreover, the concluding words of the annals say that the king's wars covered the period from the "Year 23" to the "Year 42," not from the "Year 22."

Thus these two difficulties are removed, and there is nothing left to upset the overwhelming evidence that the regnal years and the calendar years coincided. As will be seen in the follow-

ing pages, especially in those dealing with the Eighteenth Dynasty, the application of this point gives a new interpretation to very many of the events to be recorded.

#### THE ACTUAL DATE B.C. OF THE TWELFTH DYNASTY

The actual date of the Twelfth Dynasty can be arrived at by the fortunate fact that in the Kahun Papyrus the rising of the dog-star Sirius is stated to have occurred on the 17th day of the 4th month of the 2nd season in the 7th year of Sesusri (Sesostris) III; and reference to the *Knobel-Petrie Tables (Historical Studies)* will show that the rising of Sirius on that calendar date occurred between about 1990 and 1993 B.C. It will presently be seen that my calculations of the lengths of the dynasties bring me to 1992 B.C. for the 7th year of Sesusri III; and thus my chronology is fully confirmed by this astronomical evidence. Working back from this fixed date, 1992 B.C., we find that the Eleventh Dynasty must have fallen and the Twelfth Dynasty must have been founded in 2111 B.C., the date given for that event in the foregoing chronological table.

It has been argued, however, that the Twelfth Dynasty ought really to be dated some 600 years earlier, because there are some alabaster vases, now in the Louvre, which are inscribed with the names of Manistusu and Naram-Sin of Babylonia, whose date is round about 2700 B.C., and these vases are similar in shape to Egyptian vases of the Tenth to Twelfth Dynasties. But in reply to this argument it may be said that the appearance of these kings' names on the vases does not necessarily indicate that they were inscribed at that time: they may have been offerings to the spirits of those monarchs made hundreds of years after their deaths. Or again, the shapes of these vases may have been prevalent in Babylonia centuries before they were introduced into Egypt. The evidence, in fact, is far too slender to upset so firm a chronology as that which I have put forward in this History; and an addition of 600 years to my figures is completely out of the question.

This is proved beyond all dispute by the evidence from the records of seasonal dates. The Egyptian calendar, as I have

said, lost one day in every four years, and thus if we add 600 years or so to the dating here given, the events recorded as taking place in winter would have to be assigned to summer, and so forth. The following selection of dated events will suffice to show that my chronology is not open to question in this respect.

1. At the quarries of Hammamât there is an inscription dated in the 2nd year of Nebtoure Mentuhotpe of the Eleventh Dynasty, on the 23rd day of the 2nd month of the 1st season. This was in 2191 B.C., and the calendar date then corresponded to the end of February; but 600 years earlier the time of year would have been July, a season at which the Egyptians did not work the quarries. Moreover, the inscription states that there was rain on that day, and though rain in Upper Egypt is not infrequent in February it is unknown in July.

2. At the beginning of the Twelfth Dynasty Prince Thutnakht of El Bersheh states that the flax harvest was reaped in the last quarter of the 4th month of the 1st season; and in my dating this corresponds to the first days of April, which is the exact time at which the flax harvest is reaped in Middle Egypt. But if we were to date the dynasty 600 years earlier the season would fall in the period of the autumn inundation, which is impossible.

3. At Hammamât there are two quarry-inscriptions dated in the reign of Amenemhet I, one in the 4th month of the 3rd season, and the other in the 3rd month of the 3rd season. These correspond to dates in November, according to my reckoning; but if the dynasty were to be placed 600 years earlier they would fall in summer, when the quarries were shut down.

4. When Amenemhet I died, on the 7th day of the 2nd month of the 1st season, his son was engaged in a campaign against the Libyans. In 2082 B.C., which is the year I give for that event, the date would correspond to the middle of January, the correct season for campaigning in the desert; but 600 years earlier the time of year would have been the summer, which was not a season at which such warfare was undertaken.

5. The inscription recording the end of the Nubian campaign of Sesusri I in his 18th year, is dated on the 8th day of the 1st month of the 2nd season. According to me this

corresponds to the beginning of May, which means that the campaign had been fought in the winter and concluded in the spring; but 600 years earlier this dating would have placed the campaign in the height of summer, a highly improbable time of year for such an expedition.

6. There are also inscriptions at Hammamât dated in Year 14 of Sesusri III, 4th month of the 1st season; and in the 2nd, 3rd, 19th and 20th years of Amenemhet III, 1st month of the 2nd season, and 3rd month of the 1st season. These are all in the cool season; but if 600 years were to be added to the date, these records would have been made in summer, when the quarries were shut down.

7. In the 16th year of Sesusri III, an inscription was set up at Semneh recording the end of a campaign against the negroes. It is dated in the 3rd month of the 2nd season, which, according to my chronology, corresponds to the end of April, thus showing that the campaign had been fought in winter, as was to be expected; but 600 years earlier it would have been fought in summer, which is incredible.

8. The Twelfth Dynasty inscription of Harurre at Sinai states that that official arrived there in the 3rd month of the 2nd season, and he tells us that this was at the height of summer. According to my chronology this dating does correspond to summer time; but 600 years earlier it would have been winter. This one instance by itself is sufficient to prove the impossibility of placing the dynasty at the earlier date.

9. As a final and surprising confirmation of the absolute accuracy of my chronology, a piece of evidence, previously overlooked, may be recorded. Sesusri III instituted a festival called "Defeat-of-the-Tribesmen," which was to be celebrated annually at Semneh. It was instituted in his 16th year, which, according to my chronology, corresponds to 1983 B.C.; and Thutmose III tells us that it was celebrated on the 21st day of the 4th month of the 2nd season, which was also the day appointed, apparently by Sesusri III, for the festival of the "Beginning of the Seasons" (Breasted: *Records* II, § 171, note b). Reference to the *Petrie-Knobel Tables* will show that the seasonal date here given corresponded in 1983 B.C. to June 29th, which, in that year, was the exact date of the rising of Sirius, which event then marked the beginning

of the seasons. In other words, we know that on June 29th, 1983 B.C., the rising of Sirius took place; and here we find Sesusri III instituting a great festival connected with the beginning of the seasons (i.e. the rising of Sirius) on a date in the Egyptian calendar which exactly corresponded to June 29th in 1983 B.C.

Therefore, as I said in the first volume of this History, my chronology seems incapable of correction by more than a year or so, and it is to be regarded as a firm structure to which all relative dating in other ancient countries must be adjusted.

### THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE TWELFTH DYNASTY

The problem of the chronology within the Twelfth Dynasty is one which seems to have presented great difficulties to Egyptologists; but actually the solution is quite simple, and it is not easy to understand why such erroneous results have been arrived at.

The following are the figures given by the Turin Papyrus and Manetho for the lengths of the reigns in this dynasty.

KING.	TURIN PAPYRUS.	MANETHO.
1. Amenemhet I	A figure ending in 9	16
2. Sesusri (Senusret) I	45	46
3. Amenemhet II	Missing	38
4. Sesusri (Senusret) II	A figure ending in 9	48
5. Sesusri (Senusret) III	30 plus some missing units	8
6. Amenemhet III	40 plus some missing units	8
7. Amenemhet IV	9 years, 3 months, 27 days	10
8. Sobknofrure	3 years, 10 months, 24 days	4

In another version, 42 years for these three kings, 4) perhaps a miswriting for 22

In this dynasty it was usual for the Pharaoh to associate his successor on the throne with him, and thenceforward to use a double dating in the records of events. The double dates now known are (1) Year 30 of Amenemhet I corresponding to year 10 of his successor Sesusri I, (2) Year 44 of Sesusri I corresponding to Year 2 of his successor Amenemhet II, and (3) Year 35 of Amenemhet II corresponding to Year 3 of his successor Sesusri II. The further known facts to be borne in mind are (1) Amenemhet I died in Year 30 of his reign, i.e. after a reign of 29 years and a fraction; (2) the highest recorded date of Sesusri I which happens to have come down to us is the Year 45; (3) the highest date of Amenemhet II,

similarly, is the above-mentioned Year 35 ; (4) the highest date of Sesusri II is the Year 19, which, in the Kahun Papyrus Accounts is followed immediately by Year 1 of his successor ; (5) the highest date of Sesusri III is the Year 33 ; (6) there was a short co-regency of Sesusri III and his successor Amenemhet III, but its length is unknown ; (7) the highest date of Amenemhet III is Year 46 ; (8) there was a brief co-regency, of unknown length, of Amenemhet III and Amenemhet IV ; (9) no co-regency of Amenemhet IV and Sobknofrure is known ; and (10) the Turin Papyrus states that the whole dynasty consisted of eight kings.

These facts, together with the mutilated figures of the Turin Papyrus and those of Manetho, enable us to build up the chronology of the dynasty pretty closely ; but the approximate figures are able to be made exact by the happy chance that the Turin Papyrus has also preserved for us the total actual length of the dynasty, namely 213 years, 1 month, and 17 days.

Now, as I have said, the years of a king's reign were reckoned as coinciding with the calendar years, that is to say the last and unfinished calendar year of any reign was taken over by the next king, and became the first year of his reign. Thus, in regard to the reigns of the last two sovereigns of the Twelfth Dynasty, Amenemhet IV and Sobknofrure, which the Turin Papyrus gives as 9 years 3 months and 27 days, and 3 years 10 months and 24 days, the meaning is that Amenemhet IV died after 3 months and 27 days of what would have been his 10th year were completed, this same year then becoming the first year of Sobknofrure, and the latter sovereign, similarly, died after 10 months and 24 days of what would have been the 4th year were completed.

It is apparent, of course, that the total which the Turin Papyrus gives for the dynasty, 213 years 1 month and 17 days, is not arrived at by reckoning from the New Year's Day at the beginning of the reign of Amenemhet I ; for in this case the total down to the death of Sobknofrure would have been a figure ending with 10 months and 24 days, Sobknofrure's reign having ended with that fraction. How, then, was it arrived at ? The answer is obvious : the dynasty survived for 212 complete calendar years of 365 days each, plus the



10 months and 24 days (i.e. 324 days) which brought Sobknofrure's reign to an end; and to this figure was added the fraction at the beginning of the reign of Amenemhet I, which must have been 2 months and 28 days (i.e. 88 days), bringing the total to 213 years and 47 days, or 213 years 1 month 17 days. In other words the total, as was to be expected, gives the exact length of the dynasty from the day of the accession of Amenemhet I to the day of the death of Sobknofrure.

The following table will show how the known lengths of the reigns and the co-regencies fit into this total.

Year of the Dynasty.	Date, B.C.	King.	Year of Reign.	Co-regent.	Year of Reign.
$\frac{22}{385}$ ths	2111	Amenemhet I	1		
1	2110	" "	2		
2	2109	" "	3		
3	2108	" "	4		
4	2107	" "	5		
5	2106	" "	6		
6	2105	" "	7		
7	2104	" "	8		
8	2103	" "	9		
9	2102	" "	10		
10	2101	" "	11		
11	2100	" "	12		
12	2099	" "	13		
13	2098	" "	14		
14	2097	" "	15		
15	2096	" "	16		
16	2095	" "	17		
17	2094	" "	18		
18	2093	" "	19		
19	2092	" "	20		
20	2091	" "	21	Sesusri I	1
21	2090	" "	22	" "	2
22	2089	" "	23	" "	3
23	2088	" "	24	" "	4
24	2087	" "	25	" "	5
25	2086	" "	26	" "	6
26	2085	" "	27	" "	7
27	2084	" "	28	" "	8
28	2083	" "	29	" "	9
29	2082	Death of Am. I	30	" "	10
30	2081	Sesusri I	11		
31	2080	" "	12		
32	2079	" "	13		
33	2078	" "	14		
34	2077	" "	15		
35	2076	" "	16		
36	2075	" "	17		
37	2074	" "	18		

Year of the Dynasty.	Date. B.C.	King.	Year of Reign.	Co-regent.	Year of Reign.
38	2073	Death of Am. I	19		
39	2072	Sesusr I	20		
40	2071	" "	21		
41	2070	" "	22		
42	2069	" "	23		
43	2068	" "	24		
44	2067	" "	25		
45	2066	" "	26		
46	2065	" "	27		
47	2064	" "	28		
48	2063	" "	29		
49	2062	" "	30		
50	2061	" "	31		
51	2060	" "	32		
52	2059	" "	33		
53	2058	" "	34		
54	2057	" "	35		
55	2056	" "	36		
56	2055	" "	37		
57	2054	" "	38		
58	2053	" "	39		
59	2052	" "	40		
60	2051	" "	41		
61	2050	" "	42		
62	2049	" "	43	Amenemhet II	1
63	2048	" "	44	" "	2
64	2047	" "	45	" "	3
65	2046	Death of Sesusr I	46	" "	4
66	2045	Amenemhet II	5		
67	2044	" "	6		
68	2043	" "	7		
69	2042	" "	8		
70	2041	" "	9		
71	2040	" "	10		
72	2039	" "	11		
73	2038	" "	12		
74	2037	" "	13		
75	2036	" "	14		
76	2035	" "	15		
77	2034	" "	16		
78	2033	" "	17		
79	2032	" "	18		
80	2031	" "	19		
81	2030	" "	20		
82	2029	" "	21		
83	2028	" "	22		
84	2027	" "	23		
85	2026	" "	24		
86	2025	" "	25		
87	2024	" "	26		
88	2023	" "	27		
89	2022	" "	28		
90	2021	" "	29		
91	2020	" "	30		
92	2019	" "	31		

Year of the Dynasty.	Date. B.C.	King.	Year of Reign.	Co-regent.	Year of Reign.
93	2018	Death of Sesusri I	32		
94	2017	Amenemhet II	33	Sesusri II	1
95	2016	" "	34	" "	2
96	2015	" "	35	" "	3
97	2014	" "	36	" "	4
98	2013	" "	37	" "	5
99	2012	" "	38	" "	6
100	2011	Death of Am. II	39	" "	7
101	2010	Sesusri II	8		
102	2009	" "	9		
103	2008	" "	10		
104	2007	" "	11		
105	2006	" "	12		
106	2005	" "	13		
107	2004	" "	14		
108	2003	" "	15		
109	2002	" "	16		
110	2001	" "	17		
111	2000	" "	18		
112	1999	" "	19		
113	1998	Death of Ses. II	20	Sesusri III	1
114	1997	Sesusri III	2		
115	1996	" "	3		
116	1995	" "	4		
117	1994	" "	5		
118	1993	" "	6		
119	1992	" "	7		
120	1991	" "	8		
121	1990	" "	9		
122	1989	" "	10		
123	1988	" "	11		
124	1987	" "	12		
125	1986	" "	13		
126	1985	" "	14		
127	1984	" "	15		
128	1983	" "	16		
129	1982	" "	17		
130	1981	" "	18		
131	1980	" "	19		
132	1979	" "	20		
133	1978	" "	21		
134	1977	" "	22		
135	1976	" "	23		
136	1975	" "	24		
137	1974	" "	25		
138	1973	" "	26		
139	1972	" "	27		
140	1971	" "	28		
141	1970	" "	29		
142	1969	" "	30		
143	1968	" "	31		
144	1967	" "	32		
145	1966	" "	33		
146	1965	" "	34		
147	1964	" "	35		

Year of the Dynasty.	Date. a.c.	King.	Year of Reign.	Co-regent.	Year of Reign.
148	1963	Death of Ses. II	36	Amenemhet III	I
149	1962	Sesuri III	37		
150	1961	" "	38		
151	1960	" "	39		
152	1959	Death of Ses. III	40		
153	1958	Amenemhet III	2		
154	1957	" "	3		
155	1956	" "	4		
156	1955	" "	5		
157	1954	" "	6		
158	1953	" "	7		
159	1952	" "	8		
160	1951	" "	9		
161	1950	" "	10		
162	1949	" "	11		
163	1948	" "	12		
164	1947	" "	13		
165	1946	" "	14		
166	1945	" "	15		
167	1944	" "	16		
168	1943	" "	17		
169	1942	" "	18		
170	1941	" "	19		
171	1940	" "	20		
172	1939	" "	21		C
173	1938	" "	22		
174	1937	" "	23		
175	1936	" "	24		
176	1935	" "	25		
177	1934	" "	26		
178	1933	" "	27		
179	1932	" "	28		
180	1931	" "	29		
181	1930	" "	30		
182	1929	" "	31		
183	1928	" "	32		
184	1927	" "	33		
185	1926	" "	34		
186	1925	" "	35		
187	1924	" "	36		
188	1923	" "	37		
189	1922	" "	38		
190	1921	" "	39		
191	1920	" "	40		
192	1919	" "	41		
193	1918	" "	42		
194	1917	" "	43		
195	1916	" "	44		
196	1915	" "	45		
197	1914	" "	46		
198	1913	" "	47		
199	1912	" "	48		
200	1911	" "	49		
201	1910	Death of Am. III	50	Amenemhet IV	I
202	1909	Amenemhet IV	2		

Year of the Dynasty.	Date. B.C.	King.	Year of Reign.	Co-regent.	Year of Reign.
203	1908	Death of Am. III	3		
204	1907	Amenemhet IV	4		
205	1906	" "	5		
206	1905	" "	6		
207	1904	" "	7		
208	1903	" "	8		
209	1902	" "	9		
210	1901	Death of Am. IV	10	Sobknofrure	1
211	1900	Sobknofrure	2		
212	1899	"	3		
213ths	1898	Death of Sobk :	4	1st year of Dyn. XIII	

The damaged figures in the Turin Papyrus may now, therefore, be restored with certainty as follows :—

1. Amenemhet I      29 years.
2. Sesusri I        45 "
3. Amenemhet II    38 "
4. Sesusri II        19 "
5. Sesusri III       39 "
6. Amenemhet III    49 "
7. Amenemhet IV    9 years, 3 months, 27 days.
8. Sobknofrure      3 years, 10 months, 24 days.

With these preliminary remarks, then, I may begin the story of the great Pharaohs of this mighty Twelfth Dynasty.

## CHAPTER II

### THE FIRST HALF OF THE TWELFTH DYNASTY

2111-1999 B.C.

DYN. XII, I. AMENEME: SEHOTPEIBRE AMENEMHET (I)

2111-2083 B.C.

**T**HE accession of Amenemhet, the founder of the great Twelfth Dynasty, has been recorded at the end of the previous volume of this History. He first appears in the inscriptions as Prime Minister to Neb-touire Mentuhotpe, the last Pharaoh of the Eleventh Dynasty; and not only does the high-sounding recital of his offices and his honours indicate that he was an exceptional man, ambitious, forceful and patriotic, but also he seems to have displayed unusual thoroughness as chief minister of the crown, if we may judge by the single fact that he went personally into the wilds of the Eastern Desert at the head of an expedition which had for its object the quarrying of a block of stone from the hills of Wady Hammamât to be fashioned into a sarcophagus for the king, it being the custom of the Pharaohs to prepare their funeral equipment during their lifetime. There could hardly have been any real need for him to go in person to these remote quarries.

He appears to have been the descendant of a princely line of southern rulers, who seem to have been resident at Thebes, since the word Amen or Amon, the local god of Thebes, is incorporated in the king's name, and, moreover, Manetho states that the new dynasty was of Theban origin. The family was related to the royal house, it would appear, for the later kings of the dynasty claimed descent from that Prince Intef who was the ancestor of the Eleventh Dynasty; but Amenemhet's mother was described as "a woman of Nubia." He was undoubtedly the one big man of his time,

and as Prime Minister it would seem that he struggled to maintain order while serving a weak and useless sovereign, towards the close of whose reign there were serious disturbances in Lower Egypt if not in Upper Egypt also.

The main cause of trouble was the presence in the Eastern Delta of large numbers of Asiatics, who had entered the country owing to a condition of famine in Palestine and the wilderness lying between that land and Egypt. The Pharaoh Nebtoure seems to have been unable or unwilling to expel these foreigners; and the restlessness of the people was increased by a low Nile which caused a state of famine throughout the country.

Amongst these Asiatics, as I have shown on page 318 of the previous volume of this History, the Hebrew patriarch Abraham is to be numbered, he having "gone down into Egypt to sojourn there," as the Bible says (*Genesis*, xii, 10), "because the famine was grievous" in the wilderness; and in Egypt he seems to have amassed considerable wealth (xii, 16) at the expense of the Egyptians, and to have become one of those powerful foreign landowners against whom they made such bitter complaint, as recorded on page 316 of the last volume. The state of affairs was so bad that at length there seems to have been an open revolt, during which the Pharaoh Nebtoure either died or was killed or deposed, and the Prime Minister Amenemhet, who, one may suppose, was a man of some fifty years of age, was proclaimed king.

The new Pharaoh came to the throne, as I have just shown, 2 months and 28 days before the close of the year, that is to say on the 2nd day of the 9th month of the year, which, in 2111 B.C., according to the *Petrie-Knobel Tables*, would be about August 13th. Now this is just about the date of the great annual festivity and holiday now known as the Wefa en-Nil, "the fullness of the Nile," when the river is regarded as having reached the proper height for the inundation of the land, and the dams are cut, releasing the flood; and therefore Amenemhet I seems to have proclaimed himself Pharaoh on this propitious day of national rejoicing, when the overflowing of the life-giving waters of the Nile would seem as it were to greet him as monarch of the land. This is perhaps the explanation of his words "the Nile greeted me," which he wrote, appar-

ently in regard to his accession, in the letter to his son presently to be recorded. If this be so, it looks as though the reign of the previous king Nebtoure had not ended with his natural death, but that he had been deposed or killed, and Amenemhet had been proclaimed on the occasion of this great festival.

The deposition and expulsion of Nebtoure may perhaps be referred to in an inscription found in the tomb of Khnum-hotpe at Benihasan (Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, I, Pl. XLIV, and Breasted, *Records*, I, § 465), wherein that personage, who was the Hereditary Prince of the Oryx-province, says : " I sailed down-stream with his Majesty, with twenty ships of cedar-wood which he (himself) led, and we came to . . . (a place the name of which is unreadable), (where) he expelled 'him' from the Two Lands (of Egypt). The negroes and the Asiatics (? who were serving this enemy) fell ; and he (Amenemhet) took possession of the lowlands and the highlands in the Two Lands, with the inhabitants who had remained in those places." The enemy here referred to as " him " may well have been the deposed Pharaoh Nebtoure, though it has generally been supposed that the reference is to some other claimant to the throne.

The name of the new monarch, Amenemhet, meaning " The god Amen is before him," is given by Manetho, the ancient Egyptian historian, as Ammenemes or Amenemes, but the final *s* is the Greek termination, and by removing it we have Ameneme as the rendering in later times. It is a question whether the final *t* in the Egyptian script was still pronounced in the days of the Twelfth Dynasty ; but it will be best to let that letter stand, since " Amenemhet " is the reading of the name now generally adopted by Egyptologists. In the " prophecy " relating to his accession, recorded on page 315 of the previous volume, his name is given as Ameny, and this shortened form seems to have been that by which he was popularly called. On his accession he assumed as Reed-and-Hornet-king the name Sehotpeibre, meaning " Pacifying the heart of the sun-god " or " The sun-god pacifying the heart " ; and as Hawk-king, Hawk of Nubi, and Lord of the Vulture and the Cobra, he took the name Nemmosut, " Repeating the story of creation." It has been suggested that he also took the name Sehotpeibtoui (*Zeitschrift*, Vol.



50, 1912), but more probably this belongs to another Amenemhet of the Thirteenth Dynasty.

One of the first acts of his reign was the expelling of the Semitic settlers from Lower Egypt, and the building of a great wall apparently across the Wady Tumilat, the eastern caravan route into the Delta, "so as to prevent the Asiatics from entering Egypt even to ask for water to give their cattle to drink," as the inscription quoted on page 317 of the previous volume explains. (See Kùthmann, *Die Ostgrenze Ägyptens*, p. 34.) This important barrier was called "The Prince's Wall": it is referred to in the Sinuhe inscription (see below, page 50), but its exact position is unknown, nor have any traces of it been found, a fact which suggests that it was completely destroyed during some later invasion of Egypt by the Asiatics, perhaps in the days of the Hyksos kings. But Sinuhe tells us that it was "made to hold back the Bedouin and to destroy the desert-wanderers," that there were forts in connection with it, and that sentries patrolled it. It was probably built of sun-baked mud bricks, like some of the great defences erected in this Dynasty in Upper Egypt and Lower Nubia which are still standing. It recalls to mind the great wall of China and the Roman wall running across North Britain; and that it was an extensive and highly important building is indicated by the fact that in the so-called prophecy regarding this Pharaoh its erection is evidently accounted as the outstanding event of the reign.

In the Bible-story of Abraham, it is written: "And Pharaoh commanded his men concerning him, and they sent him away, and his wife, and all that he had. And Abraham went up out of Egypt." Now, I have shown in the earlier volume of this History, page 318, that the year of the accession of Amenemhet, 2111 B.C., is pretty certainly that of the departure of Abraham from Egypt; and therefore we may assume that the Hebrew patriarch was one of the rich Semitic chieftains to whom the late Pharaoh had been well-disposed but whom the new monarch deported, and that the great wall was built behind them preventing their return, so that he and the hundreds of other Asiatics who were expelled with him had to find sustenance as best they could in the wilderness and on the borders of Palestine,

Some of these Asiatics were not ejected without a fight. There is an inscription written by a certain somewhat vain military commander named Nessumentu, now in the Louvre (Breasted, *Records*, I, § 471), in which that personage, speaking in the 24th year of Amenemhet of the events of his earlier life, says: "I defeated the Asiatic nomads and Bedouin; and I overthrew their strongholds (so that they) were as if they had never been. I chased (them) through the fields, going ahead in front of those (of my men) who (would have remained) behind their defences. . . . This is the truth," he adds, "and there is no lie in it."

Having ousted these foreigners, and having protected the Eastern Delta against their return, the new Pharaoh decided to transfer the royal residence from Thebes, where the monarchs of the Eleventh Dynasty had lived, to a more central point, from which he could keep in close touch with Lower Egypt as well as Upper Egypt. He chose a place which seems to have been near the modern village of Lisht, on the edge of the western desert, some 15 miles south of Memphis, though the actual site is now lost; and here he erected a fortified city which contained the palace and, apparently, the headquarters of the army. He named it *Itht-toui*, "The Control of the Two Lands"; and from it the dynasty is sometimes spoken of as "the House of *Itht-toui*." The palace is described as being ornamented with gold, having doors of copper and bolts of bronze, the whole structure being very strongly built; but no trace of it now remains. In this connection it may be mentioned that the base of a statuette of the king has been found in Sinai (Gardiner and Peet, *Sinai*, 63) which indicates that he was working the famous copper mines in that region.

From this stronghold he ruled Egypt with a mighty hand, bringing back prosperity to the land and re-establishing law and order. The Prince of the Oryx-province, Khnumhotpe, says of him: "His Majesty came that he might abolish wrong-doing, appearing in glory even as the god Tum himself, that he might restore those things which he found ruined. Where one city had taken the property of a neighbouring city, he established their landmarks for eternity, causing the one to recognize the boundaries (which divided it) from the

other, assigning (to each its proper share of) the waters (of the Nile) according to that which was (written) in their charters, and apportioning (their rights) according to those (they enjoyed) in ancient times, because of the greatness of his love of justice."

Throughout the land he built or restored the temples of the gods. The lintel of a doorway inscribed with his name has been found near Tanis (Zoan) in the Delta (*Zeitschrift*, xxv, 12), indicating that he built or restored a temple there. At Bubastis remains of a temple built by him in honour of the goddess Bast have been found (Naville, *Bubastis*, xxxiiiA). At Memphis he dedicated an altar to the god Ptah (*Monuments Divers*, 34 f.), and also probably from Memphis comes a statue of the king found at Tanis whither it seems to have been removed in later times (Petrie, *Tanis*, I, i, 3. The head is shown in Petrie, *History*, I, 155). At Shedet (Crocodilopolis) there are the remains of statues and columns from his temple (Petrie, *Hawara*, 57, and *Recueil des Travaux*, xi, 98). At Abydos he dedicated an altar to Osiris (Mariette, *Abydos*, 1338); at Koptos a fragment of a temple-wall bearing his name has been discovered (Petrie, *History*, I, 157); at Denderah similar remains have been discovered (Dümichen, *Dendera*, iii f., ivb) and at Karnak there are also remains of his work (Mariette, *Karnak*, 8d, e) dedicated to Amon-Re.

Near the royal residence at Lisht he erected his pyramid on the edge of the desert (Gauthier and Jequier, *Lisht*, 87-97); and by its side he built a temple for the ministrations to his spirit, one of the priests of which, Tetiemsuf, is named in an inscription found at Sakkara (Quibell, *Sakkara*, 1908, 113), while another, called Hur, is named in another inscription to which I shall presently refer (Piehl, *Inscriptions*, II, 104). The pyramid was called Kenofre, "The Lofty and beautiful"; and in the granite quarries of Aswân (Petrie, *Season*, 67) there is a rock inscription which refers to it, while another inscription in that neighbourhood gives the name of the king, indicating that granite was here being quarried for it.

In connection with these buildings there is a record on the rocks of the Wady Hammamât, the desert quarry which, as has already been recorded, Amenemhet visited personally

while he was yet Prime Minister, before his elevation to the throne. This inscription chronicles an expedition made to that remote valley by a certain Intef, a high official, who, after much search, having found and quarried a huge and magnificent block of stone out of the hillside, to be used, probably, for making the royal sarcophagus, proudly says: "My lord (the king) sent me to Wady Hammamât to bring down this splendid block of stone. Never was its like brought (from this quarry) since the days of old. There was no prospector who had known the marvel of it, and none that sought it (or its like) had attained it. I spent eight days searching these hills, for I did not know the spot wherein it (i.e. stone of the necessary quality and flawlessness) was (likely to be found). I prostrated myself to Min (the god of the desert), to Mut (the mother goddess of Thebes), to the Great-in-Magic, and to all the gods of these highlands, offering incense to them upon the (altar) fire. Then, one early morning, as the land brightened, I set out (once more) to go forth on to the hills of Hammamât, my men following behind me, and my people scattered upon the hills, searching the whole desert (around); and presently I found it, (whereupon my companions) made festival, and the entire company gave praise, rejoicing and kneeling while I returned thanks to the god Mentu."

In the Kahun Papyrus (Griffith, *Kahun Papyrus*, Pl. XVII) mention is made of some cattle which belonged to the mortuary endowment of the Pyramid, it would seem, the reference to them being dated some years after the king's death.

Two other inscriptions at Hammamât may be noted here, recording smaller quarrying expeditions made by an official named Idi, who was accompanied by 200 men. One of these is dated on the 3rd day of the 4th month of the 3rd season of an unnamed year, which, at this period, would correspond to some date in November; and the other inscription, again without mention of the year or day, gives the date as the 3rd month of the 3rd season, corresponding to October or November. These months represent the beginning of the cool season, when the climate of the desert uplands is at its best, the heat of the summer days being past, and the bitter cold of the winter nights not yet having arrived.

In the 21st year of the reign, that is to say in 2091 B.C., the king decided to retire from active administration and to associate his son, Sesusri, on the throne with him, there having been precedents for this kind of joint rule in the days of the early Pharaohs (see first volume, page 120). He must now have been a man of some 70 years of age, if we may judge by the fact that he was Prime Minister and the chief figure in the land before his accession, and therefore must have been round about 50 at that time; and it may be that three score years and ten seemed to him to be a fitting age, a sort of round number, at which to retire. He had, however, not yet mentioned his intentions in this regard when a plot was hatched against his life by some of the members of the court, who, it seems, considered him to be too old to defend himself. One night, just after the evening meal, when the old king had fallen asleep upon his couch, an attack was made upon him; but he woke up in the nick of time, and, springing to his feet, fought with his assailants, keeping them at bay until help arrived.

This attempt upon his life greatly embittered him, and it would seem that thenceforth he made a friend of no man, but remained to the end of his days a morose and grim figure, ever counselling his son, whom he now placed upon the throne beside him, to harden his heart and to deal sternly with his subjects.

The date of the beginning of this dual sovereignty is fixed by an inscription found at Abydos (Mariette, *Abydos*, II, 22) giving the double date "Year 30 of Amenemhet (corresponding to) Year 10 of Sesusri," which shows that the first year of the son's reign corresponded to the 21st year of his father's reign.

Under this co-regency the activity of the early part of the reign seems to have been renewed; but Amenemhet himself, full of years, gradually ceased to take much part in the administration, and, indeed, in an inscription left by a priest of his pyramid named Hur (Piehl, *Inscriptions*, II, 104), the date is recorded simply as "Year 9 of Sesusri," and the corresponding "Year 28 of Amenemhet" is omitted altogether, as though the elder monarch no longer functioned. Probably by this time he was nearly 80 years of age.

In the 29th year of his reign a campaign was conducted against the people of Wawat, or Lower Nubia, and against the Mazoi, a tribe living near the Second Cataract; and on a rock near Korosko there is a brief inscription which reads: "Year 29 of King Sehotpeibre, living for ever. We came to overthrow Wawat" (*Zeitschrift*, 1882, 30).

Somewhere about this time the aged king composed a poem addressed to his son, but apparently intended to be read by posterity in general; and so highly was the composition valued as a piece of literature that no less than seven copies have come down to us, dating from some 600 or 700 years after the author's death, but all, unfortunately, in a very fragmentary condition (Griffith, *Zeitschrift*, 34, 35-49, and Breasted, *Records*, I, 478). This very human document reads:—

Hearken to that which I say to you, (my son), that you may (truly) be a king of the earth, that you may be the ruler of (many) lands, and that you may increase (their) welfare: guard yourself against all your subjects, for that event may take place, to the fears of which no thought has been given. Do not approach them alone, (yet) do not fill your heart with a brother, nor admit a friend nor make for yourself (any) intimates, for there is no end to it. When you sleep, take precautions yourself for your own life, for a man has no people in the hour of misfortune. I (myself) gave to the beggar, I cared for the orphan, I admitted him who was not (of any account) as well as him who was. Yet he who ate my food rebelled (against me), (so that thereafter) he to whom I offered my hand aroused dread in it. They (the very people) who wore my linen regarded me as (an enemy), and they who perfumed themselves with my myrrh defiled me . . . (*a line missing*). It was after the evening meal, night having come, that (once) I took an hour of heart's ease. Lying upon my couch, I relaxed (my limbs), and my mind began to follow slumber, when (suddenly) weapons were drawn and conspiracy was made against me, while I, like a snake of the desert, awoke to fight alone . . . (*a line missing*). Quickly seizing their weapons with my hand I hurled back the scoundrels . . . (*Some lines missing*.) Now, this abominable thing occurred while I was (still) without you (my son), while the court had

not (yet) heard that I had handed over (my kingdom) to you, while I had not yet sat with you (upon the dual thrones). Let me (therefore) regulate your administration, for (while) I do not (any longer) strike terror into (our subjects) and (indeed) do not (even) think about them, my heart cannot endure a state of inactivity (fit only) for servants, (*a line missing*). I (who) sent (my orders) to Elephantine (in the south), and reached (my hand) to the marshes (in the north), I (who) stood upon the boundaries of the land, watched over its internal organization, and extended the frontiers of its might by my daring and my deeds. (Of myself I will say that) I was one who had cultivated the crops and had loved the harvest-god, (and that therefore) the Nile greeted me (on my accession) in every (place), and none was hungry in my time, nor did any thirst then. Men lived (in peace) through that which I did; and they said of me that all I ordered (to be done) was right. I (hunted) lions, I captured crocodiles, I seized the people of Wawat, I made the people of the Mazoi my captives, and I caused the Bedouin to run like hounds. I built myself (this) palace ornamented with gold, whose ceilings are (like) lazuli, as are also the walls, and whose floors are (like silver), the doors being of copper, and the bolts of bronze. It was built to be everlasting so that eternity (itself) should tremble at it. . . . (*The remainder is mostly missing.*)

The old king lived on until the middle of the 30th year of his reign, which corresponded to the 11th year of the reign of his son. A few weeks before his death he had sent an expeditionary force into the western desert to attack the Libyan tribesmen who had apparently been causing trouble on the western frontiers of Lower Egypt; and King Sesusri was at the head of this army. Just as he was returning, however, having taken many captives and rounded up great herds of cattle, he received a private message informing him that his aged father, King Amenemhet, had passed away on the 7th day of the 2nd month of the 1st season, which, in 2082 B.C., would correspond to about January 15th. This news was received at nightfall, and, under cover of the darkness, Sesusri set out secretly for Itht-Toui with a small retinue, in order to claim his kingdom.

He had reason, it would seem, to fear that the throne might

be seized in his absence by some other claimant, possibly one of his brothers. No brothers are known by name, but that they existed is indicated by the fact that in the poetical biography of Sinuhe, to which reference will presently be made, Sesusri is called the "eldest son." The only members of the royal family now known are the queen-mother, Nofritethnen, wife of Amenemhet (of whom there was a statuette in the Louvre which was stolen from that museum in 1830); and their daughter Nofrit, who is mentioned by Sinuhe. Sesusri is generally thought to have been quite a youth at this time, as a reading of a fragmentary passage in his father's poem to him seemed to indicate (*Sallier Papyrus* 2, Pl. III, 5); but in view of the facts that he is called the "eldest son," that there is a reference to some "royal children" being with the army, and that his father, having been Prime Minister before he began his long reign, must have already been middle-aged at his accession, it is more probable that Sesusri was a man of between 25 and 30 at the least when his father associated him on the throne, and between 35 and 40 when Amenemhet died. Thus his own sons may now have been growing to manhood; and since, in an Oriental court, the loyalty of neither brothers nor sons nor any other members of the royal family is beyond doubt, there must have been cause for real anxiety in regard to the succession. Sinuhe, in fact, in relating the story of the death of Amenemhet, tells us that he expected fighting to take place at the palace, and as he held an official position in the household of Amenemhet's queen, he may have been aware of some plot which had been hatched there in favour of one of the other princes. Indeed, as will presently be related, he was so afraid of being involved in some trouble of this kind that he took to flight immediately on hearing of the old king's death.


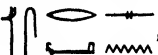








The brief but very vivid description of the last scene, as chronicled by Sinuhe, must be quoted in conclusion. "... On the seventh day," he writes, "this divine being went down (like the sun) into the hills of the west, even the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Sehotpeibre. He flew up into heaven, and was united with the sun, and the divine limbs were absorbed into Him who created him. The palace was hushed and men's hearts were filled with sorrow. Then were the great double



doors closed, and the courtiers sat with bowed heads, while the people wept."


DYN. XII, 2. SESOSTRI : KHEPERKERE SESUSRI (I)

2082-2047 B.C.

My reading of the name of the new king as Sesusri requires an explanation. In Egyptian script it is written  or , and this used to be read Usertsen, but is now generally given as Senusert. Manetho, however, renders the name as Sesostris, which, by the removal of the Greek termination, becomes Sesostri. In this the *ostri* is a close rendering of the Egyptian  *usri*, with its debatable  $\Delta t$ ; but the , which, on the face of it, ought to be read *sen*, is given as *ses*. I believe, however, that *ses* must be the correct reading, the  being an archaic ideogram not pronounced (see the first volume, pp. 44, 47, etc.); for the word  *sen* (?), "to breathe," is alternatively written  *ses*; the word  *seneu* (?) seems to correspond to  or  *sese(u)*, "to walk"; the word for "six," *ses*, is sometimes written as though it were to be read *sen(t)*; and so on. Thus the whole name is probably Ses-usri, corresponding to Manetho's Ses-ostri.

The beginning of the reign is described in the biography of the above-mentioned Sinuhe (or Sanehat, as the name used to be read, owing to the first syllable *si*, "son," being sometimes transcribed *sa*, or *se*, and the *nuhe* or *nuhet*, "sycamore," being read *nehat*). This biography, as it well merited, became a classic of Egyptian literature (Gardiner, *Sinuhe*), and several copies of it are known; but the original was probably inscribed on the walls of his tomb, which is now lost but was perhaps situated at Lisht in the royal necropolis. When it was written, Sinuhe held many important titles, but at the outset of the adventures which he describes, he tells us that he was "an official of the Royal Harim, in waiting on Queen Nofru,

the wife of King Sesusri (I)." He calls himself a *shemsu*, a word which means literally a "follower," or "descendant," and may here imply that he was a minor royalty, though it may mean no more than that he was of the king's entourage. Certainly, as we shall see, he had been brought up in the palace, and the queen and the royal children were very fond of him.

Having recorded the death of Amenemhet I, as quoted above, he says: "Now, his Majesty (Amenemhet I) had despatched a large army (into the western desert) to the land of the Libyans, his eldest son being commander of it, the good god Sesusri; but just as he was returning" (probably along the Wady Natrûn caravan-route), "having taken (many) living captives from the Libyans and all their cattle, without limit, the Peers of the Court sent (messengers) to this western side to inform the king's son (Sesusri) of the (sad) event that had taken place at the palace, and these messengers met him on his way (home), reaching him at the time of evening" (probably some miles into the desert, north-west of the Fayûm). . . . "Without waiting a moment the Hawk (i.e. the new king) flew away together with his entourage, without letting his troops know. A message, however, had been (privately) sent to the Royal children who were with him in his army, and one of them had been hailed" (as king? The word is ).

Sinuhe, by reason of his connection with the queen's household, seems to have been aware of this plot for the proclaiming of this other prince as Pharaoh; and, thinking that trouble was brewing, in which he would be involved, and that he might lose his life, he was panic-stricken. "Now, as I stood (in the darkness)," he says, "I overheard his (this prince's) voice while he was speaking, he being but a short distance away; and (thereat) my heart stopped beating, my arms fell asunder, and trembling seized all my limbs. (Then) I rushed away to seek for myself a hiding-place, and I betook myself to the scrub on either side (of the road), so as to separate my path from that of any traveller. I made my way southwards, not intending, however, to go to the palace (of Itht-toui), for I thought that there was (sure to be) fighting (there). Moreover, I had no mind to live (there) after him (i.e. after Amenemhet's death). I then crossed the Fayum lake, near the region of the

Sycamore, and came to the Island of Snofru, and (there) I rested (for the remainder of the night) in the open fields. It grew light, and, when it was day, I went on ; but (presently) I encountered a man who rose up from the path ; but he showed dismay, and was afraid (when he realized that I was a fugitive ?)). I reached the town of Negeu (on the west bank of the river) when the hour of the evening meal was drawing near, and (there) I ferried (myself) across (the Nile) in a rudderless boat, a west wind (helping me), and (so) I made my way (into the desert) on the east of the quarries (north of Memphis ?), and passed (the shrine) of the hill-goddess, Lady of the Red Mountain (behind Heliopolis ?). So I went northwards (towards the Wady Tumulât ?), letting my feet follow their own path, and (at length, after two or three days) I arrived at the Wall of the Prince, which had been made (by the late king) to hold back the Bedouin and to check the desert-wanderers ; and I crawled into the bushes, for fear lest the sentinels on the fortifications who belonged to its day-watch should see me, but at nightfall I (crossed the wall and) went on, and as the earth brightened (at dawn) I arrived at Peten. (Thence, I travelled on ; but) when I had reached the region of Kemur (north-east of the Gulf of Suez) I collapsed owing to thirst, while my breath came fast, my throat burned, and I said ' This is the taste of death ! ' I kept my heart high (however), and (presently) I pulled myself together as I heard the sound of the lowing of cattle, and beheld some Bedouin. Now there was a chieftain amongst them who had been in Egypt, and he recognized me. He gave me water, he boiled some milk for me, and I went with him to his tribe. Good was that which these people did (for me) : one tribe sent me on to another, (until at last) I set out for Byblos, and arrived in the land of Kedem (east of the Lebanon ?), where I spent half a year."

The story of Sinuhe's subsequent adventures will be continued later ; but now we must leave this fugitive from the royal wrath, and return to the king. It seems that his rapid night-journey to the palace, and his arrival there probably before dawn, ruined the plans of his enemies, and he was able to establish himself as sole sovereign of Egypt without much difficulty. He had already taken the name Kheperkere, ' Existing by the Spirit of the Sun-god,' by which he was

crowned as Reed and Hornet-king; and as Hawk-king, Lord of the Vulture and Cobra, and Hawk of Nubi, he had assumed also the name Enkhmosut, "the Life-force of creation." His personal name, Sesusri, was henceforth used with the title "Son of the Sun-god."

One of the outstanding events of the new reign was the building of a great temple at Heliopolis for the worship of this Sun-god, who was recognized now as the ancestor and divine father of all the Pharaonic line, each Pharaoh being actually the sun-god incarnate. Part of the dedicatory inscription, which was engraved upon a great stone tablet or stela, has been preserved; for a certain scribe who lived during the reign of Amenhotpe II of the Eighteenth Dynasty, over 600 years later, made a copy of it on a sheet of leather, and though the original stela is now lost this transcription has come down to us (Breasted, *Records*, I, § 498). The first line of this document reads: "Year 3, 3rd month of the 1st season, day . . . (it was) during the reign of the Reed- and Hornet-king, Kheperkere, Son of the Sun-god, Sesusri, deceased." It has generally been supposed that this date is to be regarded as the third year of Sesusri, and that the temple was dedicated in that year; but this seems very unlikely, for the years of Sesusri's reign are always dated from the beginning of his co-regency with his father, and the 3rd year would thus have corresponded to the 23rd of Amenemhet I, and the names of both kings would probably have been recorded together in so important and formal an inscription. Moreover, on the other side of this leather sheet on which the copy has been made there are some notes written by the Eighteenth Dynasty scribe, and these are dated in Year 3 of Amenhotpe II, which suggests that this other "Year 3" likewise refers to the reign in which the copy was made, and not to that in which the original stela was set up. The insertion of the word "deceased" after the name of Sesusri shows, too, that this first line of the document gives the later scribe's own words, and is not part of the copy he was about to make, which really begins in the second line, as follows:—

"When the king was crowned with the double crown of Upper and Lower Egypt (i.e. at his accession as sole Pharaoh after his father's death), a sitting (of the Cabinet) in the audi-

ence-hall took place, (at which) he took counsel with his suite, the Peers of the realm, and the Princes at the palace of . . . . (Then) the king gave his orders, while they listened ; and he took counsel (with them) while causing (his plans) to be laid before them. ' My majesty ' (he said) ' is about to require a piece of work (to be done), and is planning an important undertaking. I will make a memorial for the future, and will set up a lasting monument for (the Sun-god) Harakhte ; (for) he (it was who) created me to do that which he (desired that I) did, and to carry out that which he commanded (me) to do. He appointed me guardian of this land, recognizing (in me) one who would defend it, and he handed over to me that which he would protect, and that which the eye that is in him (i.e. the sun) shines upon. Doing in all things as he wishes, I have fulfilled that which he required (of me) ; (for) I am a king after his own heart, a sovereign to whom he does not . . . Even as a boy I was victorious ; even in my mother's womb I was mighty. . . . He ordained me to be Lord of the Two Regions of Egypt when (I was still) a child, before the swaddling-clothes were taken off me ; he appointed me Lord of mankind . . . in the presence of the people, training me to be the occupant of the throne (even) as a youth, before my two . . . came forth. He gave his stature and his girth (to me), and I have been built up out of this form which he took. The land was given to me : I am its lord, (so that) in me fame has reached the height of heaven. . . . He has commanded me to overcome that which he would have overcome ; (and as) the Hawk-king I have assembled his attributes (in me). I have (already) established the offerings of the gods, and (now) I will undertake a work, namely, a great temple for my father, the Sun-god Atum ; and he will (have me) make it big according as he has caused me to prosper. I will furnish his altars with the offerings of the earth, and I will build (this) my temple on the holy ground, (so that) my goodness shall be remembered in his temple, my name shall be (as enduring as) the (sacred) pyramidion (of the sun within it), my name shall be (as enduring as) its (sacred) lake. As eternity (itself) shall be this excellent thing which I have planned, for a king does not die who is (constantly) mentioned in regard to his achievements.

. . . It is my name that shall be mentioned as a reality which, because of these eternal records, shall not pass away; for that which I shall construct shall be that which shall last (for ever). (Therefore) that which I am looking for is (only) the best, the best supplies . . . ; (and that which I require) is care in (securing) everlasting materials.'

"Then these Peers of the realm answered before their lord, and said: 'The god of Good Sense is in your mouth, and the god of Wisdom is behind you, O Sovereign; and it is your plans that shall be carried out, O King who makes (things) clear (for us) as Favourite of the two patron-goddesses (of Upper and Lower Egypt); (for), in regard to your temple, it is (certainly) best to look to the future, and, by means of the best materials, to (pay regard to) the times to come. (But) the people can carry nothing through without you, for your majesty is (like) the two eyes of all men. (Therefore) you must be great (in action), so that you may make this your monument in Heliopolis, the dwelling-place of the gods, for your father Atum, Lord of the Great House, the Bull amongst the gods. Let your household arise, (then), and make offering at the altar, and perform the (necessary) ceremonies before its chosen statue, on behalf of your person for all time.'

"(Then) the king himself said to the Wearer of the Royal Seal, the Peer, the Steward of the Treasury, the Privy Councillor: 'It is under your direction that this undertaking shall be carried out: of this my majesty is desirous, and so it shall be. You shall be the director in charge of it, who shall carry the matter through according to that which is in my mind. . . . Have vigilance, (therefore), that all the work may proceed without delay. . . . I have given orders to those who are employed (upon it) to do according as you shall require (of them).'

"(Then) the king was crowned with the diadem, and all the people followed him (to the chosen site for the temple), and (there) the Chief Ritual-Priest and the Scribe of the Sacred Books stretched the measuring-cord, and drove the boundary-pegs into the ground (to mark out the plan). (When this preliminary work) was done for this temple, his Majesty caused a Royal Scribe to go before the people

who were gathered in one place from the south and north. . . ."

Here the document breaks off. Nothing now remains of this temple which Sesusri so proudly built to last for eternity, except two inscribed stones and the great obelisk which still stands, though now the lower part is buried beneath the earth. It is some 66 feet in height and is made of a single block of pink granite quarried at Aswân, each side being inscribed with a single line of hieroglyphs stating that it was made by King Sesusri, whom the divine spirits of On love, as a memorial of his jubilee. We are not told in what year of his reign this festival was celebrated; but as a jubilee in ancient Egypt seems to have marked the completion of a period of thirty years from the date at which the king was first recognized officially as heir to the throne, and as Sesusri was probably so recognized very soon after his father's accession, one may suppose that the jubilee took place, and this obelisk was erected, in the early years of the king's sole reign. The Arab writer 'Abd el-Latif, states that in his time, about A.D. 1190, this obelisk was still crowned with its original cap of burnished copper; but this has now gone.

Of the two inscribed blocks of stone from the temple, one gives the names and titles of the king (Daressy, in *Annales du Service*, IV, 101), and the other records an interesting list of pious gifts made to the gods apparently by this same Pharaoh though only the name Sesusri survives and not the other royal names by which we could make certain that the reference was to this particular Sesusri (*Annales*, IV, 102). The fragmentary inscription reads as follows:—

" . . . (For a deity whose name is now lost), a necklace of *mesnet*-stones; a *menit*-necklace; many large seals; . . . and many large . . . For the goddess Anuket (of the Nile Cataract): a necklace of *mesnet*-stones; a seal; a silver vase; a gold vase; a bronze vase; two copper vases; an ebony censer; and a silver censer. For (Osiris) Khenti-of-the-West Lord of Ebod (Abydos): . . . a bronze vase, two copper vases, and an ebony censer. For the god Inhur (Onouris) in Theni (This): a silver vase; a gold vase; a bronze vase; two copper vases; an ebony censer; and a silver censer. For the god Ipu (a form of Min): a silver vase; a gold vase; a bronze vase; two copper vases; an ebony censer; and a

silver censer. . . . (For a deity now obliterated): a *menit*-necklace. I (also) built a temple for Satet, Anuket, and Khnum, Lord of the Cataract, (the Lower Nubian trinity), of sculptured stone. I built a temple for Horus of Nubia in the Second Province of Upper Egypt (north of Aswân). For the memorial-temple of Atum, Lord of On: (many) silver vases; . . . a golden shrine (?); a silver . . . A statue of (myself, Sesusri?) for the city of Sae (Sais); a statue of the goddess Utho, Lady of Pe and Dep; and a copper bowl. A statue of (myself) Sesusri for the city of Pe. For the goddess Nephthys: . . . For the Nine Gods in the city of Kherohe: a copper bowl; and a statue of Hapi (god of the Nile). (When) I sailed up-stream to Elephantine, offering-tables were presented to the gods of the South. For the goddess Hathor, Lady of Denderah: a gold . . .; a necklace of *hemaegēt*-stones (carnelians?); . . . a necklace of . . .; For Hathor, Lady of Kusi (Cusae, capital of the province north of Assiout): a necklace of *hemaegēt*-stones; a necklace of *mesnet*-stones; . . ."

Mention may here be made of the remains of the other religious works carried out by this Pharaoh. At Thoan (Tanis or Zoan) fragments of three statues of the king have been found, perhaps having been removed there from Memphis in the Nineteenth Dynasty (Petrie, *Tanis*, I, i, ii, xiii); and from a place near Tanis comes a pink-granite sphinx (*Zeitschrift*, xxiii, 11). At Pebast (Bubastis) a fragment of a temple wall has been discovered (Navelle *Bubastis*, xxxiv). At Begig in the Fayum there is a red-granite obelisk (Lepsius: *Denkmäler*, ii, 119). From Atauleh comes a fragment of a temple (*Annales*, III, 80). At Ebod (Abydos) this king carried on important works in the temple of Osiris: a door-lintel and jamb, part of a wall, and a grooved slab, have been found (Petrie, *Abydos* I, liv, lviii; *Abydos* II, xxiii, xxvi); and also a figure of Osiris (Daressy, *Cairo Catalogue, Statues des Divinités*, 38230); a green-glazed vase (Bissing, *Cairo Catalogue, Fayencegefässe*, 3666); and some small tablets from the foundation-deposit (Petrie, *Abydos* II, xxiii).

The buildings at Abydos were executed under the direction of a Prime Minister named Mentuhotpe, who has left a record of his works on a tablet discovered there, and now to be seen

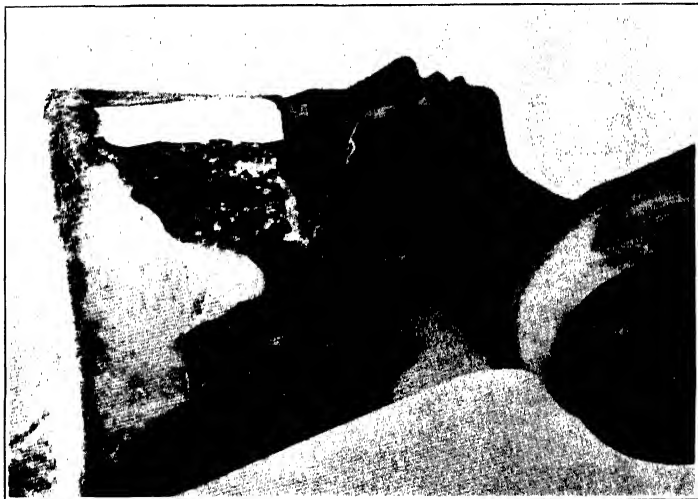


in the Cairo Museum (No. 20539 ; Breasted, *Records*, I, § 530). "I conducted the work in the temple," he says, "building his (the god's) house, digging his (sacred) lake, and constructing the well, by command of the majesty of the Hawk-king.

. . . I carried out the work in the temple, building it of stone of Ayan . . . I conducted the work on the sacred Barque. It was I who painted its colours . . . (I made) offering-tables (with decorations) of lapis-lazuli, of bronze, of electrum, and of silver ; much copper, without end (was used), and bronze without limit. Collars of real malachite, and ornaments of every kind of precious stone (were made) . . . of the choicest of everything, to be given to the god at his festival-processions."

At Qebt (Koptos) Sesusri built or restored the temple of the local god Min, of which traces have been found (Petrie : *Koptos*, ix, x). In the temple of Karnak at Thebes many traces of the king's work have been found (*Annales*, iii, 39 ; iv, 11 ; v, 29. *Recueil des Travaux*, xxiii, 63. Legrain, *Cairo Catalogue*, 42004, 42006, 42007. De Rougé, *Études*, ix, 202. Mariette, *Karnak*, 8). At Taud, farther south, near Arment, an altar has been found (*Zeitschrift*, xx, 123) ; at Nekhen (Hieraconpolis), the ancient capital of the Hawkings, the remains of a temple have been unearthed (Murray, *Handbook*, 508) ; and at the opposite city of Nekheb (Eileithyiaspolis), an altar was discovered (Weigall, *Guide*, 310). At Iebo (Elephantine), the island-city below the First Cataract, the base of a piece of statuary has been found (*Annales*, viii, 47), and also some slabs of granite from the temple (*Proc. Soc. Bib. Arch.* 1909, 252, 322). A stela naming the king, found at Philae (?) is in the British Museum (Budge, *Guide to Galleries ; Sculpture*, 39).

For the purposes of these numerous buildings, the breccia quarries at Wady Hammamât in the Eastern Desert were worked ; and inscriptions carved upon the rocks there are still to be seen, recording expeditions made in the 16th year of Sesusri (corresponding to the 7th year of his sole reign) and in the 38th year (Cuyat and Montet, *Hammamât*, 87, 117, 123). Several rock-inscriptions in the granite-region of the First Cataract are probably connected with the quarrying of that stone ; and amongst these the dates "Year 1," "Year



WOODEN STATUETTE OF SESUSRI I FROM LISHT.  
The tip of the nose is restored.  
(From *Ancient Egypt*, 1913).  
See page 57.



WOODEN STATUETTES OF SESUSRI I FROM LISHT, SHOWING THE  
KING WEARING THE WHITE CROWN OF UPPER EGYPT AND THE  
RED CROWN OF LOWER EGYPT.  
(From *Ancient Egypt*, 1913).  
See page 57.



33," and "Year 41" occur (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 118; Petrie, *Season*, X and 91). Behind Nekheb (El Kâb, Eileithyiaspolis), at the head of the desert route to the gold-mines, the king's name is inscribed (*Proc. Soc. Bib. Arch.*, 1909, 252, 322); and it goes without saying that these and the other gold-mines of the Eastern Desert were extensively worked in this reign. Operations were also carried on in the turquoise and copper mines of Sinai; and at Serâbit el-Khadem, the chief mining centre of that desert region, where stood a considerable town and fortress, with its temple, many remains of this reign have been found, including a door-lintel, an altar, a stela, a seated statue, etc. (Gardiner and Peet, *Sinai*, 64-70; and Petrie, *Sinai*, 77, 124, 128, 129). In the alabaster quarries of Hetnub, near Tell el-Amarna, work was also conducted, and a rock-inscription of this reign is still to be seen there (Fraser: *Hatnub*, x, 1).

Work on the king's pyramid seems to have been begun before the death of his father, the site selected being close to, and south of, that of the latter Pharaoh. A great wall surrounded the pyramid, having panels in it inscribed with Sesusri's name; and not far away was the tomb of the High Priest of On (Heliopolis), named Iemhotpe, who, in his capacity as Superintendent of All Works, was perhaps responsible for the building of the pyramid. In a small chamber constructed in the thickness of a brick-wall of this tomb the two fine cedar-wood statuettes of the King were discovered (Lythgoe in *Ancient Egypt*, 1915, 145), representing him wearing the white crown of Upper Egypt and the red crown of the Delta (Plate II). An inscription left by a certain Assistant-Treasurer named Mery, records the building of an "eternal resting-place" which must have been either this pyramid at Lisht or, more probably, a second tomb at Abydos, for several kings are known to have had two tombs. Mery says: "Because I was so very zealous, my Lord sent me with a commission to make for him an eternal resting-place . . . its walls pierced the skies; the sacred lake which was dug attained (the proportions of) a river; the gates, towering to heaven, were of the limestone of Turrah (the quarries opposite Memphis). The god Osiris Khenti of the West rejoiced at all this building for my Lord; and I myself rejoiced, and my heart

was glad at that which I had accomplished " (Piehl, *Inscriptions*, I, ii-iv). The inscription is dated " Year 9, 2nd month of the 1st season, day 20," in this reign, which corresponds to about February 23rd, 2083 B.C., eleven months before the death of Amenemhet I; and at that time the building was evidently finished. The name of the king's pyramid at Lisht was *Khnemisut* " The Protected of Places," as is recorded in a mutilated inscription found at Memphis (Petrie, *Memphis* I, 18), which refers to endowments made for it and for the tomb of Amenemhet I.

One of the most important events of the reign was a great military expedition to the neighbourhood of the Third Cataract, undertaken with the object of conquering the negro tribes of that region, and of establishing the southern boundary of Egypt some 250 miles above the present Sudan frontier at Wady Halfa, so that all Lower Nubia and the northern Sudan, that is to say the reach of the Nile between the First and Third Cataract, should be free from any danger of invasion by the barbarian " blacks." The campaign was conducted in the 18th year of the reign, that is to say in 2074 B.C., 8 years after the death of Amenemhet I; and the expedition was placed under the command of a great nobleman named Mentuhotpe. This general left an inscription in the temple at Wady Halfa (Breasted in *Proc. Soc. Bib. Arch.*, May, 1901, 231), which is headed by a representation of Sesusri I standing before the war-god Mentu, who says to the king: " For you I have brought beneath your feet all the countries that are in Nubia "; and a list of the names of ten negro tribes are given. There was also a figure of the general Mentuhotpe, but this has been erased, and we are to suppose that he fell into disgrace in the end and was cashiered. The inscription is dated " Year 18, 1st month of the 2nd season, day 8," which corresponds to May 12th, from which fact it is to be deduced that the expedition was launched in the winter, which was the usual time of year for campaigning in these hot countries, but was not brought to a successful conclusion until the end of the cool season in March or April, and the army did not return to the more temperate north until the hot weather was beginning to set in. (The point is of interest, because if the dynasty were to be dated 600 years earlier, as

some scholars advocate, the seasonal dating of this campaign would then have corresponded to the height of summer, a highly improbable time of year for such an expedition.) In the much damaged inscription we can now read little beyond the words "... Their life is finished, slain are . . . , their huts are burnt. . . . Their grain has been cast into the Nile. . . . I myself declare that this happened in very truth, I, the General of the Army, Mentuhotpe."

There is a reference to this campaign in the biographical inscription in the tomb of Amenemhet, Prince of the Oryx Province, the son of Khnumhotpe, the prince who was ruling that province in the reign of the late Pharaoh (page 41) and from this we learn that the king himself paid a visit to his army, probably when they were established at the Third Cataract, and that he went up by ship, guarded by troops from the Oryx Province, who did not join in the fighting. "I attended my Lord," he says, "when he sailed southward to overthrow his enemies of the four barbarian nations. I sailed southward as the son of the prince (Khnumhotpe) . . . commander-in-chief of the troops of the Oryx Province, representing my father who was old. . . . I went through Kush, and, sailing southward, I pushed forward to the (new) frontier of the land. . . . Then when his Majesty returned in safety, having overthrown his enemies in Kush the vile, I (too) returned, attending him with dutifulness. There was no loss among my soldiers" (Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, 25).

It may be mentioned in passing that this provincial nobleman, Amenemhet, records the fact that the 25th year of his princely reign corresponded to the 43rd year of the king's reign, which shows that his old father, Khnumhotpe died in the 19th year of the reign, that is to say in the year after this Nubian campaign, as a reference to the figures on page 33 will show at a glance. The point is of technical interest because Egyptologists, subtracting 25 from 43 and finding the result to be 18, have placed this Prince Amenemhet's accession in the 18th instead of the 19th year of the king's reign; and it is useful to point out this error in calculation, which is of a kind constantly being made.

A further reference to this Nubian campaign occurs in the biographical inscription of a Prince of Iebo (Elephantine),

named Seronpuit or Seronpitui, written upon a wall of his tomb near Aswân, now numbered 36 (de Morgan, *Cat. des monuments*, 183, and see also Weigall: *Guide*, 431, and Budge: *Nile*, 692). This southern nobleman, who was also Chieftain of Lower Nubia and Governor of the Land of the South, and who has caused himself to be depicted walking about with his dogs, took some part in the campaign; but all that can now be read in this regard in the damaged inscription is: "His Majesty came to overthrow Kush the vile. . . . His Majesty came, bringing . . ."

On the rocks at Dehmîd in Lower Nubia I found the name of this King Sesusri, and at Amada in the same region I came upon an inscription of this same reign with the date "Year 18," the year of this campaign. I also found here an inscription dated "Year 45" of this Pharaoh, which may have been written by some officer on his way to the frontier established by this war (Weigall: *Lower Nubia*, xviii, liii, and p. 101).

As a result of this campaign an Egyptian outpost was established at Kerma, near the Third Cataract, and a great nobleman, named Hepzefi, who was Prince of Assiout, was appointed Governor there. Hepzefi had made a tomb for himself at Assiout, but he died in harness at Kerma, and was buried there under a great mound, according to the Nubian custom; and at his funeral the Nubians whom he ruled killed a number of slaves and buried them around him, after their barbaric fashion. His tomb was discovered by Dr. Reisner (*Journal*, 1918, 36).

In his unused tomb at Assiout Hepzefi, prior to his departure for Kerma, caused a long list of mortuary endowments and enactments to be inscribed (Griffith: *Inscriptions of Siût*; Breasted, *Records*, I, § 535; Reisner: *Journal*), and these throw much light on the manner in which a rich man made arrangements for the supplying of his spirit, after his death, with the priestly attentions which he believed to be necessary for his spiritual welfare. The inscription begins with an address to the priest who was to be in charge of the matter. "All these arrangements, which I have secured by contract with these priests (of the local temple)," says Hepzefi, "are under your charge, for it is a man's mortuary priest who should maintain his possessions and the offerings (for

his spirit). Now, I have informed you (fully) in regard to the things which I have given to the priests in return for the things which they shall give to me; and take heed (therefore) lest anything amongst them is omitted. Let your son, your heir, who shall (ultimately) act (in your place) as my mortuary priest, hear every word contained in these my lists (of the things) which I have given to them. I have placed in your possession lands and people and cattle and gardens and everything, as (does) every prince of Assiut, in order that you may make offerings to me with a contented mind. You are in charge of all these my possessions which I have placed in your care, and here they are before you in writing."

Then follow details of these contracts. Every lay-priest in the temple of the local god Wepwet shall place a loaf of white bread before Hepzefi's funerary statue on the first of the five intercalary days (see page 21 of the previous volume); and in return for this Hepzefi bequeaths to the priests his quarter share of the bull sacrificed to Wepwet on that day, which it had been his right to receive each year, as Prince of that locality. "I have given to you this quarter due to me from the temple," he says, "in order that this offering of white bread which you give to me may be endowed." A similar gift of bread shall be presented to his statue "every New Year's Day, when (it is the custom for) the household to make gifts to its lord, and when the (sacrificial) fire is rekindled in the temple. Then they shall attend the mortuary priest at the service (in my honour), and shall proceed to the northern corner of the temple, as (it is customary for them) to do when they hold the service in honour of the noble dead on this day." In return Hepzefi bequeaths a measure of grain from every field of his estate at the first harvest. Next, an offering of bread and beer shall be made before his statue on the 18th day of the 1st month of the 1st season, which was an important festival; in return for which he bequeaths  $\frac{3}{80}$ ths of his portion of all offerings of all kinds made to the god Wepwet in the local temple, this fraction being arrived at by estimating the average takings of the temple for each day of the 360 days which form the sacerdotal year (i.e. the year of 12 months, each of 30 days, not counting the 5 intercalary days), and then taking 22 of the daily por-



tions belonging to him by his princely right. Arrangements are then made for the burning of candles or lamps before his statue on New Year's Eve and at other festivals; and, after that, it is arranged that a portion of roasted meat and a jar of beer shall be offered to his spirit from every sacrifice made to the god on festival days. In return for numerous other offerings, Hepzefi bequeaths certain areas of land to the priests. "The priests," he says, "shall go forth, following my mortuary priest, and shall kindle in my honour the sacrificial fire, and they shall proceed to the lower steps of my tomb." Finally it is arranged that the priests shall walk in procession "behind my statue which is in my garden, following it when it (is carried round?) at every feast of the beginning of a season."

It is to be supposed that the offerings here contracted for were laid before the altar of Hepzefi in his tomb chapel at Assiout for many years after his death; and, though his body slept beneath a mound of sand in a desert place in the far-off Sudan, his spirit, no doubt, was thought to be able to pass through space and to animate the statue as effectively as it would if his mummy had been safe in the vault beneath it in the hillside overlooking his native city.

Prince Amenemhet of the Oryx Province, whose biographical inscription has already told us of his participation in the Nubian campaign, also records two expeditions which he made up the Nile to convoy the gold from the mines to the Treasury. In the first expedition he was accompanied by the Crown Prince Amenemhet, afterwards King Amenemhet II, and in the second by another prince, Sesusri. "I sailed southward," he writes, "to bring gold ore for the majesty of King Kheperkere (Sesusri I), together with the Hereditary Prince, the eldest son of the king, Ameny, (Ameny being a short form of the name Amenemhet). I sailed southward with 400 of the pick of my troops, who returned in safety, having suffered no loss. I brought down the gold as was required of me, and I was praised for it in the palace, and the king's son praised God for me. Then I sailed southward (again) to bring ore, (proceeding) to the city of Qebt (Koptos), together with the Hereditary Prince, Governor of the City and Prime Minister Sesusri. I sailed southward with 600 of the bravest of the

Oryx Province, and returned in safety, my soldiers uninjured, having done all that had been commanded me."

It may be of interest to quote some further passages from this biographical inscription, in which Amenemhet records his good deeds. "I passed (many) years as ruler in the Oryx Province," he says. "All the Government taxes passed through my hand. The overseers of the crown possessions amongst the shepherds of the Oryx Province (i.e. the overseers of the royal herds) having handed over to me 3,000 bulls, I was praised for it (that is to say, for the excellent manner in which they were kept) each year at the palace at the (counting of the) loan-herds. I carried all dues for them to the king's palace: there were no arrears against me in any office of his, (for) the entire Oryx Province laboured for me with increasing activity. There was no citizen's daughter whom I misused; there was no widow whom I oppressed; there was no peasant whom I ill-used; there was no shepherd whom I turned away; there was no overseer of the serfs whose people I seized on account of (unpaid) taxes; there was none wretched in my community; there was none hungry in my time. When years of famine came I worked all the fields of the Oryx Province as far as its southern and northern boundary, preserving its people alive and providing their food so that none was hungry therein. I gave to the widow, (so that she was) as one who had a husband, nor did I favour the great above the small in all that I gave. Then (in the years when) great Niles (i.e. good floods) came, and (all were) possessors of grain and all things, I did not collect the arrears (of the taxes) on their fields." (See Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, I, Pl. viii.)

At Abydos a certain official named Ikudidi left an inscription (now in the Berlin Museum, Breasted, *Records*, I, § 524) in which he chronicles an expedition made to the Oasis of El-Khârgêh far off in the western desert, on the way back from which he caused a tomb to be prepared for himself in the sacred necropolis of Osiris at Abydos. It is dated in the 34th year of the reign, and reads: "I came from Thebes as the king's private agent, doing his pleasure, and being in command of the young military cadets, to visit the land of the Oasis-dwellers . . . ; and I made this tomb at the steps

of the throne of the great god (Osiris) in order that (as a spirit) I may be amongst his retinue. . . ."

There is an interesting little inscription, now in the Leyden Museum, dated in the previous year, the 33rd of the reign, and written to commemorate an agricultural official named Intefyoker, who says: "The father of the father of my father (i.e. his great-grandfather) was a scribe of the fields in the irrigation-areas of the city of Ebod (Abydos) in the Province of Theni (This) in the time of the Hawk-king Wahenkh, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, son of the Sun-god, Intef." The King Wahenkh Intef, founder of the Eleventh Dynasty, reigned from 2271 to 2222 B.C. (see page 287 of the previous volume), and as our Intefyoker recorded his inscription in 2059 B.C., we can see that he was not incorrect in his statement. He was probably an old man in 2059 B.C., being born, let us suppose, about 2130 B.C. Thus his father could with probability have been born about 2170 B.C., his grandfather about 2210 B.C., and his great-grandfather about 2250 B.C., the last-named being old enough, therefore, to have been a scribe at the close of the reign of Wahenkh Intef.

Other remains of this reign may here be mentioned. The inscriptions, public and private, which bear actual dates, record the years 1, 3, 7, 9, 10, 13, 14, 17, 18, 20, 24, 26, 31, 33, 34, 39, 41, 43, 44, and 45 (for references see Petrie, *History*, 163). There are an altar in the Alnwick collection; some fragments of a statue at Florence; a copper axe; a lion made of amethyst; some vases; two weights; some inscribed *meleagrina*-shells; a carnelian statuette once in the Louvre; many scarabs; a few cylinder-seals; and some beads. At Karnak the king set up statues of King Sahure of the Fifth Dynasty and Prince Intefi, father of Wahenkh Intef, founder of the Eleventh Dynasty (Legrain, *Cairo, Catalogue, Karnak Statues*, 42004, 42006); and he speaks of them as his ancestors, which indicates that he could trace his genealogy back for some 600 years, and probably could thus link it on to the line of the earliest Pharaohs. At Thebes there is a tomb and mortuary-chapel (No. 60) which seems to have been made for the Prime Minister of this Pharaoh, named Intefoker, and his wife Senet (Davies and Gardiner, *The Tomb of Intefoker*); but Intefoker was

buried in the end at Lisht, near his royal master, and his widow, Senet, then appears to have appropriated the Theban tomb for her own use, and to have cut out her late husband's name from many of the scenes, as though she had no wish to share her mortuary benefits with him.

We must now return to the biography of Sinuhe, who, it will be remembered, fled from Egypt across the desert to Syria at the accession of King Sesusri, believing his life to be in danger owing to his implication in a plot to dethrone that monarch. After he had nearly died of thirst he was rescued by a tribal chieftain, and so passed from one tribe to another until he reached the land of Kedem, apparently somewhere in northern Syria, behind the Lebanon. There he was taken before Enshi-Amusi, a Prince of Upper Syria, who said to him: "You do well here with me, for you can hear the language of Egypt." "This," Sinuhe tells us, "he said, because he had learnt about my character, and had heard that I was an educated (man), for the Egyptian subjects who lived in his territory had spoken about me. But he said to me: 'Why have you come here? Has anything happened at the Palace (of the Pharaoh)?' And I replied: 'Sehotpeibre (Amenemhet I) has gone down into the horizon (i.e. has died), and nobody knows what has happened as a result of this.' And I also said, evasively: 'I was coming back from the campaign in the land of the Libyans, when a (certain) piece of news became known to me, at which my brain reeled, and my mind was no longer in my body, but led me away on the desert road. Yet nobody had spoken ill of me, nobody had spat in my face. I had heard no threatening word, nor had my name been cried by the mouth of the crier. I (really) do not know what brought me to this country: it was like a dispensation of God.' Then he said to me: 'How will that land (Egypt) get on without him (King Amenemhet), the fear of whom was (felt) throughout the nations, like that of Sekhmet (the destroying angel) during a plague-year?' I said to him in answer: 'Well, his son has entered the Palace, and has taken up the inheritance of his father.'" Then follows a long stream of praise of the new Pharaoh, which Sinuhe evidently introduced into his tale for reasons of policy; and to this the prince replied: "Certainly Egypt is happy,

then. But you?—You are here. You shall stay with me, and I will treat you well.”

“Then,” Sinuhe proceeds, “he took me into his family, and (at length) married me to his eldest daughter. He let me choose (as a home) for myself (any part) of his country, of the best that belonged to him; (and I chose an estate) near the border of another country. It was a delightful place called Yaa: figs (abounded) in it and grapes, and (indeed) its wine was more plentiful than its water. Copious was its honey, many were its olives, and all kinds of fruit were on its trees. Wheat and barley grew there, and there were innumerable cattle of all sorts. Great also was that which (afterwards) fell to my portion by reason of the affection he lavished on me. He made me chieftain of a tribe of the best (people) of his country. Food was provided (by them) for me for my daily fare, and wine for my daily needs; cooked flesh and roast fowl, (too, were provided), over and above the animals (caught) in the (neighbouring) desert, for men hunted them and laid them before me, in addition to those which were caught by my dogs. And many dishes were made, (and sent) to me, and milk-foods prepared in all sorts of ways.”

It does not seem that Sinuhe was given a house to live in, but, as will presently appear, we are to picture him living in a tent, like Abraham, surrounded by the encampment of his people. He soon adopted Syrian habits, we gather, for, later on, we read that he had let his hair and beard grow, and had become accustomed to sleeping on the ground, instead of on a bed, as in Egypt.

“Many years I spent (there),” he goes on, “and my children grew up into fine men, each ruling his own tribe. (Any Egyptian) envoy who was travelling north, or (returning) south to the Palace (of the Pharaoh) stayed with me, for I made all men stay (as my guests). I gave water to the thirsty; him who had lost his way I set upon his road; and I rescued him who had been robbed. When the Bedouin became insolent, and opposed the rulers of the deserts, I brought them to reason, for the Prince of Syria made me pass many years as commander of his army. Every tribe against which I marched, when I made my attack it was driven from its pasturage and its wells. I seized its cattle, I took captive its people, I took

away its food, and I killed (some of) the people belonging to it, (doing this) by my own strong arm, by my bow, by my manœuvering, and by my clever strategy. I became a favourite in his (the Prince's) heart, and he loved me, and noted my pluck, and ranked me even before his own children when he had seen that my arms were (so) successful.

"(Once) there came a mighty man of Syria, and insulted me in my tent. He was a champion without equal, and had terrorized the whole of Syria; and he had sworn that he would fight me. He planned (in fact) to rob me, for he was plotting to steal my cattle, on the advice of his tribesmen. The Prince," who was apparently in the tent at the time, "spoke to me (about him), and I said: 'I do not know him, and I am certainly no friend of his, nor one who has (ever) walked about his camping-place. Yet have I ever opened a gate of his, or knocked down a fence of his? No, it is envy because he sees that I am carrying out your wishes. Really (it is because) I am like a stray bull amongst a strange herd, and the bull belonging to that herd charges him. . . . (However), if his heart is set on a fight, let him challenge me.'

"That night, I strung my bow and tested my arrows, drew my dagger, and sharpened my weapons. When day dawned, the Syrian had already arrived: he had aroused his tribesmen, and had collected half the countryside, and had arranged for the fight. Out he came towards me where I stood, and I took up my stand facing him. Every heart burned for me, the women and men all talking at once: every heart was aching for me, (each) saying, 'Is there any man strong (enough) to be able to fight with him?' Then, his shield and battle-axe (in hand), his armful of javelins fell (around me); and when I had dodged his weapons and had caused his arrows to pass by me, uselessly flying, we approached one towards the other. And then I shot him, my arrow lodging in his neck, and he uttered a yell and fell on his nose. I killed him with his own battle-axe, and, (standing) on his back, uttered a shout of triumph, (at which) every one of the Asiatics shrieked. I gave thanks to Mentu (the war-god), but his servants wept over him. Prince Enshi-Amusi embraced me. Then I carried off his (the dead man's) possessions, and rounded up his cattle:

what he had planned to do to me, I did to him. I seized what was in his tent, and ransacked his camp.

"Owing to this, I became an important man, and I grew great in wealth, and rich in flocks. God had done this, so as to show mercy to one whom he had punished and had made to wander into another land; for now his heart was satisfied. I was a fugitive who (secretly) fled in those days; but now there was a (good) report about me in the Palace. I was a loafer who loafed because of hunger; but now I gave bread away. I was a man who left his country because of nakedness; but now I was clad in white clothes and fine linen. I was a man who went about his business himself for lack of one whom he could send; but now I was an owner of many servants. Beautiful was my dwelling-place, wide my estate; and, (above all) the memory of me was in the Palace (in Egypt).

"(Nevertheless, I prayed :) 'O God, whichever (god) you are who ordained this flight of mine, show mercy, and bring me back to the Palace! Perhaps you will grant me to see (again) the place where my heart dwells, for what thing is more important than that my body should be buried in the land where I was born? Come to my aid! (Though) a happy lot has befallen me, and I have caused (this) god to be merciful, (yet) may he do the like again, so as to crown the last days of one whom he had afflicted, his heart pitying him whom he has compelled to live abroad. If so it be that to-day he is merciful, may he hear the prayer of one who is far away, and may he restore him whom he has punished to the place from which he took him! O, let the King of Egypt show mercy to me, that I may live by his mercy, and greet (once more) the Lady of the Land (the Queen) who is in his Palace! O, let my flesh grow young once more! for old age has come upon me, my eyes are heavy, my hands are weak, my legs refuse to carry me, my heart is weary, and death approaches me, when they shall carry me to the City of Eternity. O, let me serve my sovereign Lady (once again), and let her talk to me about her children's beauty, and spend an eternity as my mistress!'

"Then, the King of Egypt was told of the situation in which I stood, and thereupon his Majesty sent me gifts from his

royal bounty, and (a message) gladdening the heart of this his servant, as though I had been the prince of some foreign country; and the royal children who were at the Palace sent me their good wishes. (This is) the copy of the letter which was brought to this humble servant (of the king) regarding his return to Egypt. . . . 'This letter of the king is sent to you to inform you as follows: You have travelled through foreign lands, and have passed from Kedem into Syria. Land has handed you on to land, and you have been guided by your own heart. What had you done that anything should be done against you? You had not spoken traitorously that your words should call for reproof. You had not spoken at the council of the nobles (in such a way) that your remarks should be resented. This thought (of wrongdoing) took possession of your own heart: it was not in my heart against you. This (lady, the queen, who is) heaven (itself) to you, is still living (*literally* "is established") and is in good health every day. She has her part in the sovereignty of the land, and her children are here at court. May you long enjoy the good things that she shall give you, and may you live by her bounty! Come to Egypt, that you may see the Palace wherein you grew up, and that you may do homage at the great doorways and take your place amongst my Peers. For to-day already you must be beginning to be old, and your prime is passed. Think of the day of burial, and of your passing into beatitude! (Think) how that night shall be devoted to you, and (how your body shall be supplied) with the (embalming) medicaments and wrappings from the hands of Tayt (the goddess of the shroud), and how a funeral procession shall be arranged for you on the day when you are united with the earth! Your mummy-case shall be of gold, with head of lapis-lazuli, and the heavenly canopy shall be above you. You shall be placed upon the hearse, oxen drawing you along, musicians in front of you; and the (sacred) dance of the Muu shall be performed at the mouth of your tomb. The prescribed offerings shall be ordered for you, and sacrifices made at your gravestone, your sepulchral pillars being made of white stone amidst the tombs of the royal children. Thus you shall not die abroad: Asiatic tribesmen shall not be your escort. You shall not be (merely) wrapped in a sheepskin with a mound erected (over you); for



all those things fall to the ground (in time). Therefore, consider (the comfort of) your dead body, and come ! ’

“ This letter reached me as I stood amongst my tribesmen. It was read aloud to me, and I flung myself down on my face, and took the soil and sprinkled it on my hair. Then I went about my encampment rejoicing, and exclaiming, ‘ How should such things be done to a servant (of the king) whose heart led him astray into foreign lands? Sweet, indeed, is the graciousness which (thus) delivers me from death, inasmuch as your spirit (O king) has granted that the last (rites) for my body shall be carried out at home ! ’ (This is) the copy of (my) acknowledgement of this letter.” His answer begins with an expression of joy that at last the flight “ which he made in his stupidity ” is pardoned, and he pours out his praise of the king. Then he asks as a favour that three other fugitives shall also be pardoned ; and, after that, he proceeds : “ As regards my flight, I did not plan it ; it was not in my mind ; I did not conceive it ; I do not know what separated me from my home. It happened like a dream, as when a man of Lower Egypt sees himself at Elephantine, or a man of the Delta in Nubia. I was not frightened, nobody had pursued me, I had heard no hostile word, my name had not been heard in the mouth of the crier. No !—yet my body trembled, my feet began to hurry ; my heart guided me, and the god who ordained this flight led me away. . . . ” Then follows more praise of the king, and with this the letter ends.

“ Then,” he continues, “ envoys came to me, and I was (only) allowed to spend a day in Yaa to hand over my possessions to my children, my eldest son taking charge of my tribe, all my possessions being in his hand, my people, my cattle, my fruit, and every pleasant tree of mine. Then I journeyed southwards, and halted at Horwet (on the Egyptian frontier). Then the commanding officer who was there in charge of the frontier-patrol sent a message to the Palace (at Lisht) to bring the news (of my arrival), and his Majesty sent his trusted Chief Huntsman of the Palace, having with him boats laden with presents of the royal bounty for the Asiatics who had come with me to escort me as far as Horwet ; and I introduced each one of these by his name. The brewers (of the town) then squeezed and strained (the beer) in my presence, and

every servant made himself busy with his task (of waiting upon us). Then I set out, and sailed (up the river) until I reached the city of Itht-toui ; and when the dawn was breaking, and morning came, ten men arrived to summon me, and ten to convey me to the Palace, and (soon) I was bending my head to the ground between the sphinxes, while the royal children were standing at the gateway awaiting my coming. The Peers who had been ushered into the courtyard (with me) pointed out to me the way to the Audience-hall ; and I found his Majesty on his throne under a gateway of gold. I flung myself on my face, and my wits forsook me in his presence, although the king greeted me joyfully. Indeed, I was like a man overtaken by nightfall : my soul fled, my flesh trembled, and my heart was no longer in my body that I could know life from death.

" Therefore his Majesty said to one of his nobles : ' Lift him up, and let him speak to me ! ' And his Majesty said, ' So you have come ! You have trodden the deserts, you have wandered in the wilderness ; but age has conquered you ! Having now reached old age, it is (evidently) no small matter to you that your body should be buried without an escort of Asiatics. But do not behave like this ! Do not behave like this, standing there entirely speechless, when your name is being spoken ! ' But really I feared punishment, and answered him with the answer of one who is afraid : ' What is my lord saying to me ? I wish I could answer, but I cannot. It is the hand of God : indeed, the dread that is now in my heart is like that which caused my fateful flight. Now I am in your presence, and yours is my life. Let your Majesty do as it pleases you ! '

" Then the royal family were told to come in, and his Majesty said to the queen : ' This is Sinuhe, who is come as an Asiatic a son of the Bedouin ! ' She uttered a great cry, and the royal children shouted out all together. And they said to His Majesty, ' It is not really he, my lord ! ' And his Majesty said, ' Yes, it is really he ! ' " The family then begged the Pharaoh to pardon him, and many terms of flattery were addressed by them to the king. " Then his Majesty said ' No, he must not fear, he must not be afraid ; for he shall be a Peer amongst the high-officials, and he shall be placed

amongst the nobles. Go now to the dressing-rooms to look after him.' Thus, when I had left the Audience-hall, the royal children gave me their hands, and we went together through the great doorway, and I was taken into the house of one of the Royal Princes. There was splendid furniture in it, and a bathroom with painted scenes on its walls (?). There were valuable things from the (royal) Treasury in it; robes of royal material were in every room, perfumes, and the precious ointment used by the king and the courtiers whom he loves; and every servant busied himself with his task. The years were made to pass away from my flesh; I was shaved, and my hair was combed. My bundle was thrown out into the desert, my clothes (were given) to the sand-dwellers; and I was clad in soft linen and anointed with precious ointment. At night I lay upon a bed (once more), and I gave up the sand to those that live in it, and (common) wood-oil to him who (is accustomed) to rub himself with it. There was given to me a house (like that) of the governor of a province, such as (it was fitting for) a Peer to possess. Many skilled men built it, and all its woodwork was newly made. My meals were brought to me from the Palace three and four times a day, besides that which the royal children were constantly giving me. And a tomb of stone was constructed for me in the midst of the tombs. . . ."

Sinuhe ends his story by telling us what a beautiful tomb it was, and how the king presented him with a funeral-statue overlaid with gold, and how he enjoyed the royal favour for the remainder of his life. It is a curiously interesting tale, and it may be regarded as perfectly historical: I suppose there is no other Egyptian document which creates for us so clear a picture of the life of those far-off times, and the reader must pardon me for having given it almost at its full length.

In the 43rd year of the reign, Sesusri, who, if he was between 25 and 30 years of age when he ascended the throne beside his father, must now have been about 70, likewise associated his son Amenemhet on the throne with him, just as he himself had been associated on the throne by his father when the latter was about 70. The year of this co-regency is fixed by a private monument which gives the double date "Year 44 of Sesusri I (corresponding to) Year 2 of Amenemhet II" (Boeser, *Leyden*,



A HUMAN-FACED LION, PROBABLY REPRESENTING AWENEMHET  
III OF THE TWELFTH DYNASTY.

Four of these sphinx-like statues were found at Tanis.

*See page 132*



STATUE OF SESUSRI I OF THE TWELFTH  
DYNASTY.

One of the ten statues found at the  
King's pyramid at Lisht.

*See page 73*



iv). The old Pharaoh's death took place in the 46th year of his reign, which was the 4th of the co-regency, that is to say after he had reigned 45 complete years, as the Turin Papyrus tells us, and as is confirmed by the fact that the "Year 45" is the highest recorded date in the reign.

There is an interesting inscription dated in the 3rd year of Amenemhet II, which corresponds to the 45th and last year of his father's reign: it is written upon a tablet in the British Museum (No. 828), and records the successive steps in the career of a certain prince and royal scribe named Sementu. "I was born," he says, "in the reign of King Sehotpeibre (Amenemhet I), deceased, and I was a child who had (just) assumed the girdle (at the time) when his Majesty died." (See Vol. I, p. 219. Boys assumed the girdle of adolescence at about 10 or 12 years of age.) "King Kheperkere (Sesusri I), living for ever, appointed me Scribe of the Harim, and praised me in that capacity very greatly. His Majesty (then) appointed me Scribe of the . . . ; he (next) made me Accountant of the Grain of the North and South; (then) he appointed me Scribe of the Great Harim; and (finally) he appointed me Royal Scribe and Chief of Works in the whole land. His Majesty praised me because I was discreet, and he loved me because I (always) took my stand against (those who became) excited. I never repeated any evil word." Sementu must have been some 45 years of age when he caused this inscription to be written, and by that time he was able to describe himself as "Hereditary Prince, Wearer of the Royal Seal, Peer, Favourite of the Hawk (i.e. the king), Lord of the Palace, who does that which his sovereign praises every day, Royal Scribe." The use of the term "living for ever," which is only employed in regard to a king still alive, is a further proof that Sesusri had not yet died in the 3rd year of the co-regency.

One of the king's last acts appears to have been the placing of ten limestone statues of himself in the temple of his pyramid at Lisht. These statues were never set up in position: they were found in 1894 lying upon the ground and covered with sand, as a result of which they are still absolutely perfect, with the exception of one figure which is cracked. They each represent the king seated upon his throne, on the sides of which are bas-reliefs showing the symbols of the Nile of

the south and north, or, alternatively, the gods Horus and Set, united together, indicating the union of the different elements of the Egyptian nation. It is difficult to understand why these statues were concealed under the sand, and not set up; for it would seem, on the face of it, that the new Pharaoh was so wanting in filial piety that he did not take the trouble to complete the work left unfinished at his father's death. Perhaps, however, the statues had been buried under the sand for some religious reason; for it is to be recalled that the statue of a Pharaoh of the previous dynasty (Vol. I, p. 299) was found lying on its side in a manner which showed that it had been so placed intentionally.

These ten statues are now to be seen in the Cairo Museum, and near them there are six Osiride figures of the king which were also discovered in the temple of his pyramid. Thirteen altars dedicated by priestesses of the king were found in the same area. (Gauthier and Jéquier; *Lisht*.)

DYN. XII, 3. AMENEME: NUBKEURE AMENEMHET (II)  
2046-2012 B.C.

The new king is called by Manetho Ammaneme(s), this being another reading of Ameneme(s) by which that historian elsewhere transcribes the name now read Amenemhet. On his elevation to the throne as joint-king during the lifetime of his father he had taken the name of Nubkeure, "The Golden One of the Spirits of the Sun-god," by which he was called as Reed- and Hornet-king; as Hawk-king, and Lord of the Vulture and the Cobra, he had taken the name Hekenemmaet, "The Worshipper in Truth"; as Hawk of Nubi he was called Maekheru, "The True-voiced"; and as Son of the Sun-god he used his personal name Amenemhet, as was customary. Both Ameny and Amenu are used as shortened forms of this name.

We may suppose that he was a man of over 40 years of age when his father died, for he himself died 35 years later, in the 39th year of his total reign, and thus would then have been just over 70. It may be mentioned here that the inscriptions, private or public, which state the actual dates in the reign when they were written, record the years 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 12, 13, 14, 17, 19, 20, 23, 24, 25, 27, 28, 29, and 35; and

both the Turin Papyrus and Manetho agree that he died after a reign of 38 complete years, that is to say in the 39th year of his tenure of the throne.

An inscription left by a certain Assistant Treasurer named Sihathor (British Museum, 569; Breasted: *Records*, I, § 599) gives us some idea of the activities of the reign. "King Nubkeure (Amenemhet II)," he says, "sent me many times on every (sort of) important commission—matters which his Majesty wished to be done according to his heart's desire. He gave orders that I should be sent to his pyramid (named) Amen-y-sekhem, to superintend the work on his sixteen statues of hard stone, which occupied (a period) within one day of two months. Never was the like done (so quickly) by any official. As a youth I visited the mines of Sinai, and I obliged the chieftains (of the gold-mining district) to wash gold (for me), and I procured malachite (from Sinai). I penetrated to the land of the negroes: I went (there), overthrowing (them) by the fear of the King. I reached the land of He: I went about amidst its islands, and brought away its produce."

It does not seem possible to identify the district of He; but as the Nubian campaign in the previous reign had brought the Third Cataract under Egyptian control, one may suppose that the district to which the above writer penetrated was still higher up the Nile, perhaps in the neighbourhood of Argo and its islands. In the Nineteenth Dynasty the god "Horus of the Land of He" was worshipped at Abu Simbel, and hence it has been supposed that He was near that place; but this inscription clearly indicates that it was far away in the south, even beyond the limits of Egyptian control. Possibly this expedition is responsible for an inscription which I found on a rock at Dehmîd in Lower Nubia, giving the name of Amenemhet II and the date "Year 3," or for another inscription which I noted at Amada, dated in "Year 5" of this King (Weigall: *Lower Nubia*, xviii, liii).

At Aswân there are various rock-inscriptions which indicate that the granite quarries of that neighbourhood were being worked; but the only one of importance is a record of the 14th year of the reign, which I observed on the Aswân-Shallâl road, and numbered 352. At Wady Hammamât, the famous breccia quarries in the Eastern Desert, the King's name has



been found (Murray's *Handbook*, 326) ; in the alabaster quarries of Hetnub his name is inscribed (Fraser : *Hatnub*, xv, 11) ; and in the sandstone district, near Gebel Silsileh, his name is also written (Murray's *Handbook*, 512), this inscription being dated in Year 17. In the Wady Gasûs a tablet, now at Alnwick Castle, was found by Burton (Birch : *Cat. Alnwick*, pl. iii, 268), which states that a certain nobleman named Khen-tikhetur set it up in the 28th year of the reign, " after his arrival in safety from the land of Pount, his army being with him, prosperous and healthy, his ships having landed at Seueu (Wady Gasûs)." This is important as showing that the King had despatched an expedition to far-off Pount, in the neighbourhood of Somaliland, just as his ancestors Sahure, Isesi, Piop, and Senkhkhere had done (vol. I, 196, 200, 246, 305). These expeditions were at one time very perilous. A journey across the desert to the Red Sea had to be made ; then the great sea-going vessels had to be built on the barren and inhospitable shore where attacks by Bedouin tribesmen were to be expected (vol. I, p. 246) ; the expedition had next to sail for many days southwards along the uninhabited coast ; and, at the end, a primitive and little-known race of men had to be dealt with, and the myrrh and fragrant gums for which their land was famous had to be obtained. But in these days of the Twelfth Dynasty it seems that the dangers of the journey were not so great.

In Sinai a great deal of work was done at the mines, and nine inscribed tablets and two statuettes of this reign have been found there (Gardiner and Peet : *Sinai*, xvi, xix-xxii ; Petrie : *Sinai*, Fig. 130). One inscription records an expedition there in the 4th year of the reign, and another in the 24th.

An inscription left by a Master of the King's Wardrobe named Khentemsemity (British Museum, No. 574) tells us how the King sent him to inspect the temples of the land. " His Majesty set me at his feet in my youth," he writes, " and my name was spoken before (those of) my equals. Daily his Majesty greeted me, and expressed surprise (at my good work) ; and each day I was praised more than on the previous day. I became a real confidant of the King, and his Majesty received my approaches. When the officials (at court) were

ranged in their places (according to their precedence) I held a position in front of them. . . . I was a priest of the Crown of the South and of the Crown of the North ; I was a servant of the royal toilet, adjusting (the crown which is called) ' Great-in-Magic,' and holding up the White Crown in the Palace. . . . Having (thus) come to the front in the presence of his Majesty, he caused me to make an inspection of the priests, to expel evil-doing, and to improve the character of their work in (all) sacred matters. I ordered the making of their altars, and the metal (used) was under my care. According to (the King's) orders, I went up to Iebo (Elephantine), and did obeisance before the god of the Cataract. I returned by the way I had come, and moored at Ebod (Abydos), (where) I set up (this tablet bearing) my name at the place where the god Osiris dwells. . . ."

Some traces of this King's work in the various temples have been found. A granite altar bearing his name was discovered at Dehdamûn, near Faqus (*Zeitschrift*, xxiii, 12) ; another altar was found at Nebesheh (Petrie: *Tanis*, II, ix) ; and a granite door-lintel was unearthed at Memphis (Petrie: *Memphis*, II, 14, xxiii).

Amenemhet II chose as the site of his pyramid, which was called *Ameny-sekhem*, " the dominion of Ameny," a lonely spot in the desert some five miles to the south of the pyramids of Sakkara, behind the city of Memphis, and ten miles to the north of those of Lisht, where his father and grandfather had been entombed. It was built of brick and stone, and was surrounded by a walled courtyard ; but it was plundered and pulled to pieces in ancient times, and little of it now remains (de Morgan: *Dahchour*, II, 28). Near it, however, there were the tombs of some of the ladies of the royal family, and these escaped the attentions of the ancient robbers, and survived to deliver their treasures to the modern excavators. Here were the burials of the Pharaoh's queen, Keminub, and four princesses, Ita, Itaurt, Khnemet, and Sithathormeryt ; and the superb jewellery which M. de Morgan found with them is now one of the richest possessions of the Cairo Museum. This includes many necklaces of gold and semi-precious stones, such as red jasper, carnelian, amethyst, green felspar, turquoise, and lapis lazuli ; a golden chain from which hang golden shells

and stars ; a pendant of gold filigree work in the form of a butterfly ; gold bracelets with sliding clasps ; a floral spray, like an aigrette, with golden leaves and blossoms of semi-precious stones ; an exquisite diadem formed of a delicate network of gold threads, dotted here and there with little flowers, each having a red centre and blue petals ; another diadem of heavier design, made of gold, lapis-lazuli, carnelian, jasper, and felspar inlaid in a beautiful floral pattern ; a bronze dagger with a handle of gold inlaid with semi-precious stones ; and various sceptres and pieces of the regalia. This jewellery is absolutely modern—in the sense that it has nothing primitive or barbaric about it either in design, workmanship, or tastefulness ; and it makes one realize that the conditions of affluent life in these far-off days were not only civilized, but were elegant, cultured, luxurious, and exquisite in the highest degree.

In the 33rd year of the reign the Pharaoh, being now a man of about 70, associated his son Sesusri (II) on the throne with him ; and, judging by the elder king's age, it may well be that the new joint-king was himself at this time a man of between 40 and 50 years. Thus, in the official dating, the Year 33 of Amenemhet II became also the Year I of Sesusri II ; and this is confirmed by an inscription cut on the rocks at the First Cataract about a mile below the modern Barrage, which reads : " Made in the Year 3 of the reign of Sesusri II (corresponding to) the Year 35 of the reign of Amenemhet II, (when) the official (named) Hapu came to make an inspection of the fortifications of Lower Nubia." (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 123 ; and de Morgan : *Cat. Mon.*, 25, No. 178. De Morgan has copied the date as " Year 36," but I examined the original, and it is clearly " Year 35.")

In the first year of the co-regency another expedition to the land of Pount was undertaken, this time under the command of a nobleman named Khnumhotpe, who has recorded its date on a tablet found at Wady Gasûs on the Red Sea coast and now at Alnwick Castle (Birch : *Cat. Alnwick*, iv, 268). These expeditions to Pount were now of frequent occurrence, and in the tomb of Khui at Aswân (Weigall : *Guide*, 426), which is of about this date, it is stated that that nobleman and another named Thethi together visited Pount eleven times.

(Sethe: *Urkunden*, I, 140. See also Breasted: *Records*, I, § 361, where, however, the inscription is incorrectly dated to the Sixth Dynasty.)

On the walls of the tombs of Beni Hasan we have the chronicles of the family of the princes of the Oryx Province, and some reference must be made to these important inscriptions in connection with this reign. The founder of the family was Prince Khnumhotpe who played some part in the establishment of King Amenemhet I on the throne of the Pharaohs (page 41). This prince had two sons, Amenemhet and Nakht, and a daughter, Beket. The one son, Amenemhet, became Prince of the Oryx Province on the death of his father in the 18th year of Amenemhet I (page 59); and the other son was made Prince of Menat-Kheuf, a neighbouring district, by Sesusri I. The daughter, Beket, meanwhile, married Nehri, Prince of the Hare Province, and had a son, Khnumhotpe, who was made Prince of Menat-Kheuf on the death of his uncle, Nakht, in the 19th year of the Pharaoh Amenemhet II. This Khnumhotpe of Menat-Kheuf married the lady Kheti, daughter of the Prince of the Jackal Province, and had two sons: Nakht, who was made Prince of the Jackal Province by Sesusri II; and Khnumhotpe, who was made Prince of Menat-Kheuf.

These inscriptions tell us the above facts, and record the pious works of some of the princes, stating how the customary mortuary endowments were made, and how offerings were placed before the ancestral statues on certain feast-days, somewhat in the manner already described on page 60 (see Newberry: *Beni Hasan*, I; and Breasted: *Records*, I, § 619).

In the 39th year of the reign of Amenemhet II, that is to say after he had occupied the throne for 38 complete years, and his son and co-regent, Sesusri II, was in the 7th year of his reign, a rebellion seems to have broken out, for Manetho states that the aged King, Amenemhet II, was assassinated by his chamberlains. Since the murder of so old a man would seem somewhat pointless, it is to be supposed that this attack was directed against both kings, father and son, and that the latter escaped, while the former—the old Pharaoh of nearly 80 years of age—fell a victim to the assassins.

## DYN. XII, 4. SESOSTRI: KHEKHEPERRE SESUSRI (II)

2011-1999 B.C.

As Reed- and Hornet-King the name of the new Pharaoh was Khékheperre, meaning "He who ascends (or is crowned, or shines), as the Being (or manifestation) of the Sun-god." As Hawk-King he was called Seshemutoui, "Administrator of the Two Lands"; as Hawk of Nubi his name was Neteru-hotpe, "Satisfaction of the Gods"; as Lord of the Vulture and the Cobra he was named Sekhemaet, "He who causes the truth to shine"; and as Son of the Sun-god his personal name Sesusri was used.

He was probably a man of between 45 and 55 years of age at his father's death. He reigned 19 years, according to the restored figure in the Turin Papyrus, and therefore seems to have died some years before he was 70. Now it will have been seen that each of the previous kings of this dynasty, when he had reached an age which, according to all the probabilities, works out at about 70, appointed his son as co-regent: but the Pharaoh with whom we are now dealing did not make his son co-regent and this omission requires to be explained. The explanation seems to be this: that 70 years was the customary age at which the appointment of the co-regent took place, and that in the case of Sesusri II he died before this "three score years and ten" had been reached. (See also page 401.)

Manetho, according to the version of Eusebius, states that this Pharaoh was "4 cubits, 3 hands, and 2 fingers in height," which would be just over 6 feet 6 inches. In regard to his family some facts are known. His wife was named Nofret, and there are the remains of two statues of her, each showing her as a heavy-featured, broad-faced woman, wearing her hair in an unusual manner, it being padded out at the sides and brought down in front of her shoulders in two thick coils ending just above the breasts in two spiral curls. (Petrie: *Tanis*, II, xi, 171; Bissing and Bruckmann: *Denkmäler*, xxi, xxii; Maspero: *Guide to Cairo Museum*, 5th ed., p. 93.) The inscription calls her "Hereditary Princess, . . . beloved consort of the King, the Ruler of all women, the daughter of a King"; and the last phrase indicates that she was the Pharaoh's sister as well as his wife, these brother and sister

marriages being customary in the Pharaonic royal family. This same queen, it seems, and her daughter named Hetshepsut are mentioned on the mortuary tablet of a certain court-official named Iu, who tells us that his wife was the " Princess Hetshepsut born of Queen Nofret, deceased " (Lange and Schäfer, *Cat. Cairo Museum*, 20394). The Queen Nofret, and two other daughters, one named Nofret and the other Ateuhayt, are mentioned, too, in a papyrus from Kahun (*Zeitschrift*, xxxvii, 91), where also a prince named Sesusrisonb is recorded. The magnificent jewellery and the canopic vases of another princess, named Sit-Hathor, were found at Illahun (Brunton, *Lahun*, xiv; *Ancient Egypt*, 1920, 67, 74); and a scarab (Newberry, *Cat. Cairo Museum*, 37400) perhaps belongs to the same princess. Yet another princess, Atmuneferu, is recorded (Petrie: *Illahun*, xii, 6).

The dated inscriptions belonging to this reign record the years 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, and 13. Blocks from a temple built by this Pharaoh at Eheninsi (Heracleopolis) have been found (Naville: *Ahmas*, i); from Karnak comes a red-granite head from his statue (Legrain: *Cat. Cairo Museum*, 42010); at Nekhen (Hieraconpolis) a statue was discovered (*Recueil*, x, 139); from Serabit, the mining centre in Sinai, comes a statuette (Gardiner and Peet: *Sinai*, 79); in the Wady Hammamât, where the breccia-quarries were situated, there is an inscription recording the King's name (Cuyat and Montet: *Hammamât*, 104); and a tablet was found at Kosseir (*Zeitschrift*, xx, 204), the port on the Red Sea coast from which the expeditions to the land of Pount set out. At Riqqeh a piece of jewellery bearing his name was found (Engelbach: *Riqqeh and Memphis*, pl. I); and several scarabs and cylinder-seals are known.

It will be remembered that in the third year of the reign, while the late Pharaoh Amenemhet II was still alive, a certain official named Hapu was sent to make an inspection of the fortifications of Lower Nubia. Now, an inscribed tablet has been found at El Kâb (Nekheb or Eileithyiaspolis) (page 129), which is dated in the 44th year of Amenemhet III, the next king but one after Sesusri II, and which reads: " His Majesty ordered the construction of the ramparts which are within the enclosing-walls of Seshemutoui, deceased."

The name Seshemutoui is written within the royal oval or  
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cartouche; but actually it is the name of Sesusri II in his capacity as Hawk-King, and ought, therefore, to be written within the rectangular device which usually encloses a Hawk-name, and not within the oval cartouche. This, however, may be due either to a copyist's error (the tablet now being lost, and the only copy having been made in 1855); or else one is to suppose that the king was popularly known in those parts only by the name he bore as Hawk-King, El Kâb being just across the river from the ancient capital of the Hawks, and that some 80 years after his death, when this inscription was written, the local engraver put the oval instead of the rectangle around the name by a quite understandable mistake. At any rate there can be little doubt that the name is that of Sesusri II, and hence that he built the outer ramparts which still exist around the site of the city of Nekheb or El Kâb (Weigall: *Guide*, 310).

But this was not the only fortification which was erected at about this time in the far south of Egypt and in Lower Nubia. There is a great wall running in a single line from Aswân to Shellâl, and evidently intended to protect the shipping at the First Cataract from attack from the south and east; and the above-mentioned inscription of Hapu is written on a rock just behind this fortification, which indicates that it was then in existence and constituted one of the defensive works which Hapu tells us he was inspecting (Weigall: *Guide*, 411). There are three other great fortresses in Lower Nubia, at Koshtâmneh, Kubbân, and Anâybeh, all dating from somewhere about this period, so it seems, though the exact reign in which they were built is not known.

Now, we have already seen (page 60) how Sesusri I carried the Egyptian arms southwards beyond the Third Cataract, and left one of his nobles as governor at that point, and we have also noticed how a peaceful expedition to that region was able to be undertaken in the reign of Amenemhet II (page 75). But now in the succeeding reign, with which we are at present dealing, we find even the city of Nekheb, some 80 miles on the Egyptian side of the First Cataract, being fortified, and these other defences of Lower Nubia being erected or inspected; and, as will presently be seen (page 85), a great war against the negroes of the south had to be undertaken

early in the next reign. Thus it seems clear that the reign of Sesusri II was overclouded by a serious menace from the Sudan. The black races whom Sesusri I had conquered were now, in fact, in revolt ; and it is to be supposed that they had swept away the Egyptian outposts at the Third Cataract, as also, perhaps, even those at the Second Cataract, and were menacing Egypt itself. The exaggerated expressions of joy used by the next Pharaoh when at last his victories had dispelled this menace (page 90) show clearly how great the dread of a black invasion had been ; and I think we are to picture the inhabitants of the southern regions of Egypt as living at this time in a state of nervous uneasiness lest the negroes should break through and overwhelm them.

One of the most interesting records of this period of Egyptian history is found in the tomb of Prince Khnumhotpe at Beni-Hasan (Newberry : *Beni Hasan*, xxviii). Here the prince is shown receiving a company of 37 *Amu*, or Asiatics of the Eastern Desert, who bring a gift of *kohl*, or eye-paint. They are introduced by an official named Neferhotpe, who carries a tablet on which is written : " Year 6 of the reign of King Sesusri II ; the arrival of the *kohl*, which 37 Asiatics bring to him." The leader of the company is called " the *hiq*-prince of the deserts, Abshai," and it is evident that he was just such a tribal sheikh as Abraham and Jacob, and indeed he must have been a contemporary, and possibly even a friend, of Jacob. He is followed by men armed with bows and spears, and women and children, two of the latter riding on a donkey. The costumes of all the party are rich and elaborate ; the men are bearded and have strongly-marked Semitic features, with large " Jewish " noses ; and the women have long, dark hair, and wear shoes, not sandals, on their feet. It is evident that Abshai was a wealthy desert chieftain, and we can see that the civilization of such tribes was hardly inferior to that of Egypt.

The most important monument of this reign is the King's pyramid, called Khe, which was erected on the edge of the desert on the north side of the depression which leads from the Nile Valley to the Fayûm, some 25 miles, as the crow flies, south of the royal residence at Lisht near which the first two Kings of the dynasty were buried, and about 35 miles



south of the pyramid of Amenemhet II. This choice of a site seems to indicate that Sesusri II had some territorial connection with the Fayûm, and that the palace where he lived was situated somewhere in this neighbourhood. The pyramid shows some peculiarities of building. The lower part of it was formed by a natural hillock of rock, and on and around this the structure was erected of brick and stone, the core being of brick, and the whole edifice being cased in fine limestone. The interior chambers and passages were all cut in the solid rock beneath this pile of brick and masonry, and the entrance, some distance from the pyramid, was concealed under the pavement on the south side instead of being in the north face of the pyramid itself as had been customary in earlier times. Two deep perpendicular shafts led down to a tunnel or passage which rose slightly, so that it should not be flooded by any rain-water which might percolate through the filling of the shafts. At the end of this passage a large chamber was hewn out of the rock and was then lined with limestone, and this opened into the actual burial vault, lined with red granite, wherein stood the beautiful sarcophagus and a white limestone altar.

Against the east face of the pyramid there was a small sanctuary where the ministrations to the king's spirit were to be performed; and a larger temple stood at about a mile's distance to the east, this being presumably the shrine in which the more public services in honour of the Pharaoh were to be conducted. Close to this latter temple a town came into existence, inhabited, one may suppose, by priests and the workmen engaged upon the work. It was called Hotpe-Sesusri, "Contented in Sesusri," and its ruins, now known as Kahûn, still cover an area of 18 acres or so, within which Petrie excavated numerous dwellings comprising altogether more than 2,000 separate rooms. (Plans are to be seen in Petrie, *Illahun*.)

The pyramid, first entered by Fraser, was cleared by Petrie (*Ancient Egypt*, 1920, 65), and, amongst other objects, he found the golden cobra from the king's now lost coffin: this ornament was inlaid with carnelian, lapis lazuli, and garnet. Near the pyramid he found the tomb of the Princess Sit-Hathor whence came the jewellery already mentioned (Brunton, *Lahun*; *Ancient Egypt*, 1920, 74).

## CHAPTER III

### THE SECOND HALF OF THE TWELFTH DYNASTY

1998-1899 B.C.

DYN. XII, 5. CHACHARE OR SESOSTRI: KHEKEURE  
SESUSRI (III)

1998-1960 B.C.

IT would seem, as I shall suggest on page 105, that the new king was a man of some 30 years of age at his accession; and it may be that he was one of the late Pharaoh's younger sons, chosen as heir by his father who, however, died before he had made him co-regent. Or possibly, in view of the early age at which Egyptians married, he was the last monarch's grandson, the son of an heir to the throne who had died. On his accession he took the name Khekeure, "Crowned by the Spirits of the Sun-god," this being his name as Reed- and Hornet-king. In the Greek lists, this is rendered as Lachares, the Greek *X* (Ch) having been mistakenly read as *A* (L) by the copyists. As Hawk-king he was called Neterkheperu, "the God-created"; as Lord of the Vulture and the Cobra he was called Netermosut, "The Divine-one of Births"; as Hawk of Nubi his name was Kheperu, "the Created-one"; and as Son of the Sun-god he used his personal name Sesusri.

It has already been pointed out (page 83) that at this time the people of southern Egypt were living in constant dread of an invasion from the Sudan, and soon after he came to the throne the new Pharaoh began to make his preparations for a war against the negroes. The first thing to be done was to make the First Cataract at Aswân navigable, so that the huge fleet of ships which would carry the provisions and munitions of war, and perhaps the troops also, might be

hauled up to the higher reaches of the Nile, or floated down again, without risk of damage or destruction even in the late winter season when the water is low and the rocks are exposed. In the days of the Sixth Dynasty, some 550 years earlier, the great official Uni (Vol. I, p. 233) had been ordered to cut certain fairways through the cataract ; and now a more extensive piece of work was undertaken.

Just at the foot of the First Cataract there is a rugged pile of granite which forms an island now known as Sehêl. From the summit of this eminence one might look towards the south-east and south-west and see the approaching waters of the rapids dashing themselves against the many rocks which impeded their passage ; but turning to the north one might look back over the calmer stream to the point where the city of Iebo (Elephantine) lay in the middle of the river, backed by the golden sands of the western desert. The main rush of water passed along the western side of Sehêl Island ; but on the eastern side the rapids swept around the curve with sufficient force to send them well under the rocks of the eastern mainland, and the water was left comparatively calm along this bank of the island. A small group of rocks rose amidst the stream some 35 feet or so from the Sehêl shore, and this, with the mud-banks pushed up by the force of the water as it passed round the south end of the island, formed a natural barrier dividing the calm water from the rough. Boats had always managed, I suppose, to sail up from Iebo to the north or lower end of Sehêl ; and through these smoother waters under the lee of the east side of the island they might have circumvented the most turbulent part of the cataract, had it not been for the fact that the river here was shallow except at flood-time. Now, it was decided to deepen this part of the river-bed and to convert it into a sort of canal skirting the eastern shore of Sehêl, being protected from the rush of the waters by the above-mentioned rocks and mud-banks, supplemented, no doubt, by masonry.

The work seems to have been placed in the hands of a certain master-builder named Ronpetenenkh, whose name is here inscribed upon the rocks, and as a result of his labours a channel was cut, 150 cubits (nearly 250 feet) in length, 20 cubits (some 34 feet) in breadth, and 15 cubits (25 feet) in

depth ; and this was named "Fortunate are the Ways of Khekeure." It was simply a passage so deepened and protected that a rapid but steady flow of water ran down it, against which the ships could be hauled with relative ease ; but it served its purpose, and the work was thought to be worthy of two commemorative inscriptions carved upon the rocks of Sehêl, where they overlooked it, one being at the south end of the island and the other on the east side. (The inscriptions connected with this canal were numbered by de Morgan 13, 18, 19, 20, and 40 ; and I renumbered them 83, 86, 91, 92, and 112, when I was painting numerals on all the inscriptions in this neighbourhood as a means of identifying them when they were endangered by the modern quarrying works in connection with the building of the Aswân Dam).

The dedicatory inscription is headed by a figure of the king standing before Anuket, goddess of the Cataract, and reads "He (the king) made (or wrote) this as his memorial to Anuket, Lady of Nubia, (when) he made for her (this) canal whose name is 'Fortunate are the Ways of Khekeure,' that he may live for ever." There is no date to this record, but we may assume that the work was accomplished in the first years of the reign ; for there is a second inscription dated in the 8th year of the reign, which states that the canal had then to be reconstructed or deepened, owing, I suppose, to its having become silted up by the mud-deposits of the Nile. This reads : "Year 8, in the reign of King Khekeure, living for ever. His Majesty ordered (his workmen) to make the canal anew, the name of this canal being 'Fortunate are the Ways of Khekeure Living Forever,' when his Majesty proceeded up-stream to overthrow Kush the Vile. The length of this canal is 150 cubits ; the width 20 cubits ; and the depth 15 cubits."

No details of this campaign of the 8th year are known, but it was successful in placing the southern frontier of the Egyptian dominions at the Cataract some 37 miles south of Wady Halfa ; and at Semneh, the ancient Heh, on the west bank of the river a boundary-tablet has been found (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 136) which is inscribed thus :—"Southern frontier, west side, made in the Year 8 of the reign of King Khekeure who is endowed with life for ever and ever, in order to forbid

that any negro shall cross it by water or by land, either with a ship or with any herds belonging to the negroes, except a negro who shall come to trade in Iken (an unidentified place), or (one who shall come) on a commission. Every good thing (i.e. every facility) shall be given to such ; but no vessel belonging to the negroes shall be allowed to pass by Heh (Semneh) going down-stream, for ever." This Egyptian frontier, which was but a few miles south of the Second Cataract, was some 200 miles short of the frontier fixed by Sesusri I at Kerma, above the Third Cataract, as related on page 60 ; but in view of the menace which had hung for so long over southern Egypt, it must have been considered satisfactory enough that the negroes were pushed back even so far as this.

On his way to this campaign the Pharaoh ordered a nobleman named Ameny, who lived at Elephantine, to make a new doorway in the fortress there, and also to build certain government offices ; and a tablet has been found bearing an inscription which states the fact, and is dated in " Year 9, 3rd month of the 3rd season," corresponding to our September, at which time it is to be supposed, the work was completed (British Museum, No. 852 ; Breasted, *Records*, I, § 650).

An inscription on the rocks at Aswân (Petrie, *Season*, xiii, 340) has left us a record of a second campaign, in the 12th year of the reign ; but all that can now be read is the single phrase, " His Majesty journeyed (up-stream) to overthrow Kush," and no more than that is known about the expedition, though we may assume that the negroes were pressing the Egyptian troops on guard at the frontier, and had to be given another sharp lesson. Four years later, in the 16th year of the reign, a third expedition was launched against them ; and this time a commemorative tablet (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 136) was set up in duplicate at Semneh and on the island of Uronarti at the close of the campaign, at a date which corresponds to the end of April, thus showing that the fighting had been conducted in winter-time, as was to be expected in a region in which the summer season is far too hot to permit of any strenuous activity—a point which is of chronological importance, as a reference to page 27 will show. The king tells us, by the way, that his soldiers reaped the negro harvest and burnt what was not required ; and in reference to this

question of the season of year it should be noted that the main harvest is reaped in the middle of February.

The inscription on this tablet indicates clearly enough, by the emphatic language employed, how frightened the Egyptians had been of their negro enemies. The text is difficult to translate, for the sentences are not well-turned as they might have been if they had come from the pen of a composer of official documents and edicts: they sound rather as though they were a direct quotation of a speech made by the Pharaoh, or the meticulous transcription of some unrehearsed words dictated by him. The king, in fact, seems to have declared that this third campaign was undertaken not because of any specific act of hostility on the part of the negroes, but because they were exerting too much pressure on the frontier and were behaving in an offensive manner which was so like a challenge, that he had deemed it best to strike the first blow and give them the fight they seemed to be spoiling for, since they appeared to think that the period of peace which had followed the last campaign was a sign of weakness on the part of the Egyptians, and, indeed, he quite realized that this peace was a patched-up affair, easily to be broken.

The king's words were taken down verbatim, I fancy, being regarded, like the words of an oracle, as an awful utterance of the god-like personage who ruled Egypt; and they were inscribed upon the tablet more or less as they had fallen from the Pharaoh's lips. If my translation is correct, thus, the inscription reads in the following somewhat curious manner:—

“ Year 16, 3rd month of the 2nd season, (when) his Majesty fixed the frontier of the south at Heh (Semneh) (he said :) ‘ I have fixed my boundary beyond (that of) my fathers, and I have extended that (territory) which was bequeathed to me. I am a king who says (a thing) and does (it); and the thought that is in my mind is carried into effect by my hand. (I am one who) takes the offensive in a fight, and is bold (enough) to succeed; (one who) does not allow a challenge to sleep (unheeded) in his mind, but thinks out the supporting (circumstances), stands up to the insult (of his enemy), and, not being tolerant of defeat, attacks him, (thus becoming) the attacker of his attack. Quiet (when) quietude (prevails, I am one who) answers a challenge according to what it is. But since (a

period of) rest, if it be (but) the quiet which follows an attack, strengthens the purpose of the enemy, the strong man (is he who) takes the offensive. (Moreover) it is cowardice to fall back, and truly feeble it is (for a man) to be pressed at his (own) frontier. (In any case) a state of quietude, such as that (prevailing) with the negro was to be overthrown by (a word of) the mouth, and it was the (prompt) answering him that defeated him, (for) to take the offensive against him is that which drives him back, and, (on the other hand,) it is when one retreats that he takes the offensive. For they are not people of a bold nature, (these negroes): they are poor and broken in spirit. My Majesty has seen them, and it is not a lie. I captured their women, I carried off their subjects, went forth to their wells, destroyed their cattle, and reaped their grain (or) set fire to it. By my life, and by my father, I speak the truth!—nor is there (any) lie coming out of my mouth in regard to it. Now as for every descendant (*lit.* "son") of mine who shall maintain this frontier which my Majesty has made, he is (truly) my son, he is born of my Majesty, (in my) image, a son who is the champion of his father, (because) he maintains the boundary of him who begat him; but as for him who shall relinquish it, and shall not fight for it, he is no son of mine, he is not born of me. And now my Majesty has caused a statue of my Majesty to be set up at this frontier which my Majesty has made, not that you should benefit by it, (but) so that you should fight for it.''' (The "not" in this last sentence is questionable.)

This campaign, perhaps, did not finally terminate the negro menace, for there is a brief record of what may be yet another expedition into the Sudan, which took place three years later. This reference is contained in the one sentence left by an official named Sisatet upon a tablet set up by him at Abydos: "I came to Abydos to make a statue of Osiris, when King Khekeure journeyed (here), while (on his way) to overthrow Kush the Vile; in the year 19." (Stela from Abydos, now at Geneva; Maspero, *Mélanges*, II, 217.) The date "Year 19," however, may perhaps refer to the date at which the tablet was inscribed, and not to the year of the expedition.

At the close of this winter campaign in the 16th year, i.e. in the late spring and early summer of 1983 B.C., the king not

only caused the long inscription translated above to be set up in duplicate at Semneh and on the Island of Uronarti, and erected the statue of himself, which his descendants were to fight for, at the former place, but he also built some important fortifications to protect his new frontier. On either side of the Cataract of Semneh, 43 miles above Wady Halfa, he erected a strong fortress. On the west side of the river, at Semneh, he built the fortress of that name, called in ancient times "Semennu-of-the-REALM-of-Khekeure." It was constructed of unbaked bricks upon an impregnable height, artificially raised in part, and commanding the rapids, the river here being not much over 400 yards wide. Opposite to it, on the east bank, he built the fortress now known as Kummeh, placed upon a natural height, and also very strong. In each of these two fortresses he built a temple; and that at Semneh is referred to in the reign of Thutmose III. On the island of Uronarti, below this point, he erected another fortress; at Wady Halfa, the ancient Buhen, he constructed yet another stronghold; and 12 miles south of this, at Matuga, a fifth fortress was built.

The three great fortresses of Koshtâmneh, Kubbân, and Anâybeh in Lower Nubia, between the First and Second Cataract, were probably also built in this reign, for they show certain architectural features which are also found in the tomb of Sesusri III at Abydos (Weigall, *Lower Nubia*).

The fortress of Uronarti was called "Defeat of the Tribesmen," and this same name was given to a great feast of victory which was celebrated at Semneh, the chief of these five defensive works, apparently on the occasion of the foundation of the temple there. The inscription of Thutmose III (page 29) gives us the date of the annual celebration of this festival, namely on the 21st day of the 4th month of the 2nd season; and this date corresponded in 1983 B.C. to our June 29th. Now it was on June 29th in that year that the great annual event of the first observation of the heliacal rising of the Dog Star, Sirius, took place, which was the main astronomical event of the ancient Egyptian year (see Vol. I, p. 26); and thus we see that this feast of victory had been appointed to take place on that important and sacred day which formed a more or less fixed point in the rotating Egyptian calendar,



and was regarded as the beginning of the astronomical year. Thutmose III refers to this coincidence, for he speaks of this festival as occurring "on the 21st day of the 4th month of the 2nd season (which is also the day of) the festival offerings of the Beginning of the Seasons": a fact which enables us to confirm the accuracy of the chronology here used, for in 1983 B.C., which is my date for the 16th year of Sesusri III, the 21st day of the 4th month of the 2nd season did exactly coincide with June 29, the day of the rising of Sirius.

Thus we can follow the seasonal dates of this campaign: it was launched in the winter months, when the cool season enabled the troops to fight under the most favourable conditions; it was on its victorious way at the time of the main harvest of the year, in the middle of February, when, as the king tells us, the enemy's crops were reaped; it was concluded about March, and the building of the fortresses was then begun; the duplicate commemorative tablets at Semneh and Uronarti were set up at the end of April; and, as a final act, after the king and the main army had returned to the cooler regions of the north, the great festival of victory was celebrated on June 29th, the day of the rising of Sirius.

There are some scraps of information which should be mentioned in connection with these wars against the negroes. At Aswân there are rock-inscriptions recording the 6th and 10th years of this king's reign (Petrie, *Season*, 262, 340). The base of a statue inscribed with his name has been found on the island of Bigeh, near Philæ (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, text, IV, 173). Farther up the Nile, between the First and Second Cataract, his name is cut on a rock at Areika (MacIver, *Areika*, 4); I found his name also on a rock at Amada (Weigall, *Lower Nubia*, LIII); and on a hill near Kasr Ibrîm I came upon a figure of him with his name attached (*idem*, p. 125). At Mirgisse there is a small temple in his honour (*Journal*, 1916, 182), and at Geziret el Melik an inscribed tablet (*idem*, 181).

These successful wars against the negroes, and the final dissipation of the menace of a black invasion, elevated Sesusri III to the position of a national hero, and at length he became a patron deity of Nubia. In the temple of Amada he is worshipped as such by Thutmose IV of the Eighteenth Dynasty

(Weigall, *Lower Nubia*, p. 104) ; in the temple of Ellesieh he is again worshipped ; in the temple of Buhen (Wady Halfa) Thutmose III adores him (MacIver, *Buhen*, 41, 42) ; while at Semneh a temple in his honour was built by that same king, and restored by Taharqa some 1,300 years after the victory. The great conqueror "Sesostris," mentioned by Herodotus and other ancient writers, is now recognized to be a conglomerate figure to whose composition the deeds of Sesusri III in the Sudan have added some details ; and Herodotus speaks of him as "the only Egyptian monarch who ever ruled over Ethiopia," which, though a misstatement of fact, is an evident echo of this Pharaoh's victories in that land.

This same "Sesostris," Herodotus tells us, "proceeded in a fleet of ships of war from the Arabian Gulf along the shores of the Erythræan Sea, subduing the nations as he went, until he finally reached a sea which could not be navigated by reason of the shoals. Hence he returned to Egypt." Here again the tradition may be based on actual exploits of Sesusri III, for a fragment of a long inscription has been found in the temple of Bubastis (Neville, *Bubastis*, xxxiv), which seems to belong to this reign, and which gives an account of an expedition to the region called Hue, thought to be in the neighbourhood of Somaliland. Only small portions of the middle of thirteen of the lines of this inscription now remain, but from these it is evident that time has here left to us only the tantalizing scraps of a great chronicle. The fragmentary sentences tell us about some defeated negro tribes ; how the king himself struck down some prisoners with his sceptre ; how 123 soldiers were sent to capture a certain well, and, in another case, how 203 cows and 11 donkeys were captured. Then, there is the significant sentence ". . . sailed on, until they should sight the mountains of Hue, and discover a means of navigating the . . ." ; and finally we read of their departure in peace from Hue, and their arrival at some point still farther to the south. Mention is made of the time of year—"the 3rd month of the 1st season," which, at this date, would have corresponded to the end of January and beginning of February, the customary season for campaigning.

Besides the wars against the negroes and this Red Sea expedition, Sesusri III led his army across the desert to the

borders of Syria ; for there is reference to such a campaign in the biographical inscription of Sobkkhu (or Khusobk) Tha engraved on a tablet found at Abydos (Garstang, *El Arâbah*, IV, V), and in this same biography mention is made of the Nubian war. "I was born," he writes, "in the 27th year of the reign of the late Nubkeure (Amenemhet II)," i.e. in 2023 B.C. "When his Majesty King Khekeure (Sesusri III) was crowned with the double crown upon the Hawk-throne, his Majesty caused me to serve as a warrior behind and beside him, with six men of the court (under me)." This was in 1998 B.C., when Sobkkhu Tha was 25 years of age. "Then I was trained at his side, and his Majesty caused me to be appointed to be 'Attendant of the King.' (In this capacity) I furnished 60 men when his Majesty proceeded southwards to overthrow the tribesmen of Nubia ; and I captured (single-handed) a negro (chieftain) in . . . (the obliterated name of a place), alongside the city (where I was stationed ?)." This was probably in the great campaign of the 16th year, in 1983 B.C., when he was 40 years of age. "Then I proceeded northwards," he continues, "attending (the king) with my six men of the court ; and then he appointed me Commander of the Attendants, and gave me 100 men as a reward. His Majesty went northwards to overthrow the Asiatics, and arrived at a district named Sekmem. When Sekmem had fallen, together with its wretched Syrians, his Majesty proceeded on his fortunate way to the Palace, while I was acting as rearguard. Then the civilians attached to the army (at the rear) were involved in a fight with the Asiatics, and in that engagement I captured an Asiatic (chieftain, in single combat ?) and caused his weapons to be taken (from him) by two of my men, for I did not turn back from the fight, but confronted the enemy, and did not show my back to the Asiatic. As Sesusri lives, I have spoken the truth. Then he (the king) gave me (as a reward) a staff of electrum into my hand, and a bow and a dagger wrought with electrum, together with his (my defeated adversary's) weapons." Sobkkhu Tha finally states that he prepared a tomb for himself at Abydos, where he caused this chronicle to be inscribed some time during the reign of Sesusri III.

The position of Sekmem is not known, but one need not

suppose that it was situated far into the interior of Syria. The campaign, in fact, may have been only a punitive expedition against the frontier tribes, and the fact that a rearguard action was fought during the march back to Egypt indicates that it was not an overwhelming success. Now the legendary "Sesostris" of Herodotus is credited with extensive victories in Asia ; and in this respect, therefore, we must look for the origin of the tradition elsewhere than in the exploits of Sesusri III.

We catch another glimpse of our informant Sobkkhu Tha in the 9th year of the succeeding Pharaoh Amenemhet III, that is to say in 1951 B.C., when the old soldier was 72 years of age. In spite of his years he was then supervising the king's observations of the height of the Nile-flood at the Second Cataract (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 136), and at that time he held a high military title, so that one may suppose that he ended his days in honour and was buried in the tomb which he had made for himself at Abydos, and which he describes as being situated "at the steps (of the throne) of the great god (Osiris), Lord of life, Patron of Abydos," in order that he may for ever "smell the incense that issues forth from the temple like the scent of the god (himself)."

From the Nubian wars the Pharaoh had brought back to Egypt a considerable quantity of gold, and this he decided to present to the shrine of Khenti, the second Pharaoh of the First Dynasty (see Vol. I, p. 111), who had come to be identified with the god Osiris, and at whose tomb in the royal necropolis of the earliest Pharaohs, in the desert behind Ebod (Abydos), he was worshipped under the name of "Osiris-Khenti of the Western Necropolis." Perhaps Sesusri had made special prayers to this deified hero before he set out on his campaign, for, as will presently be seen, he attributes his victory to the favour of this divinity. He therefore wrote a letter to the Chief Treasurer, a nobleman named Ikhernofret, instructing him to proceed to Abydos ; and this letter was couched in such flattering terms that Ikhernofret caused it to be engraved upon his memorial tablet, which is now preserved in the Berlin Museum (Breasted, *Records*, I, § 661). It reads :—

"My Majesty commands that you shall be sent up-river to

Ebod, to make memorial offerings for my father Osiris-Khenti of the Western Necropolis, and to adorn the place of his mysteries (i.e. his tomb) with the gold which he caused my Majesty to bring from the Sudan in victory and triumph; and you shall do this as an offering for the satisfaction of my father Osiris. My Majesty sends you (because) my heart is certain of your doing everything according to my wishes, for you have been brought up under my tuition, and you have been under my training and under the particular teaching of my palace, my Majesty having appointed you to office when you were a young man of 26 years of age. My Majesty has arranged this (because) I have observed you to be a man of excellent character, ready of tongue from your birth, and eloquent in speech. (Indeed) my Majesty sends you to do this (because) I recognize that no one else who might do it possesses your high qualities. Go quickly (therefore), and execute (this matter) according to all that my Majesty has commanded."

Ikhernofret then says: "I acted according to all that his Majesty had commanded, by adorning all that my lord commanded (me to adorn) for his father Osiris-Khenti of the Western Necropolis, Lord of Ebod, the Great-one, the Mighty-one residing in Theni (Thinis). On behalf of the son whom he loves (i.e. his descendant, King Sesusri) I performed (these offices) for Osiris-Khenti of the Western Necropolis, and I adorned the great (tomb?) for ever and ever. I made for him a portable shrine to be the bearer of the beauty of Khenti of the Western Necropolis: (it was made) of gold, silver, lapis-lazuli, fragrant woods, *carob*-wood and *meru*-wood. I fashioned (statuettes of) the gods belonging to his divine cycle, and I made their shrines anew. I caused the priests to carry out their duties (properly), and I caused them to know the services of every day and of the feasts of the beginnings of the seasons. I superintended the work on the sacred ark (of the god), and I constructed a chapel (in which it was to be kept) I decked the body of the Lord of Ebod" (i.e. either the coffin itself, or the effigy on the sarcophagus, or a statue) "with lapis-lazuli, malachite, electrum, and every costly stone (placed) among the ornaments on the limbs of the god, dressing the god in his regalia by virtue of my office as Master of Secret Things, and my duty as a priest. I was pure of hand in

decking the god : I was a priest with (ceremonially) clean fingers. I conducted the celebration (of the processional festival known as the) ' Going Forth of Wepwet ' (the jackal-god) when his proceeding to champion his father (the murdered Osiris-Khenti, is commemorated). I (conducted the ceremony of) repelling the foe from the sacred ark, and overthrowing the enemies of Osiris. I celebrated the ' Great Going Forth ' (i.e. the commemoration of the funeral of Osiris-Khenti), following the god at his going. I (performed the ceremony of) sailing the divine barque of the god Thoth upon (the sacred lake ?). For this barque of the Lord of Ebod (called) ' Shining-in-Truth ' I equipped a chapel (wherein it was to be kept). I put on the god's regalia (for the ceremony) when he went forth to the royal necropolis ; I led the way for the god to his tomb in that necropolis. I (conducted the commemoration of the) championing of Wennofer (Osiris) on the day (of the anniversary) of the Great Battle ; and I (enacted) the slaying of all his enemies upon the canals of Nedyt. I conveyed him into the barque (called) ' The Great ' (at the festival) when it carried his beauty (across the Nile), and I conducted the rejoicings on the eastern heights (on the other side of the river, as) I had conducted those on the western heights. (At the ceremony) when they saw the beauty of the sacred vessel as it moored at Ebod (on its return from the eastern side), and when they brought Osiris-Khenti of the Western Necropolis, Lord of Ebod, to his palace, I followed the god into his house to attend to his service when he resumed his residence there."

The interest of this inscription lies mainly in the details it gives us of the ceremonies and religious dramas annually performed at Abydos in commemoration of the murder of Khenti, his burial, and the subsequent war between his adherents and those of his rival Set, as recorded in the previous volume of this history, pages III to III3. The particular interest which Sesusri III took in Abydos and its god is further shown by an inscription left there by a certain Sobkhotpe (British Museum, No. 257), and dated in the 6th year of the reign, in which that personage says that " His Majesty ordered his dispatch to the crown-possession of Theni, to cleanse the temples," and that " he executed these (commands) so that

they were pure for the monthly feast and clean for the half-monthly feast." A granite statue of the king has been found in the temple of Abydos (Petrie, *Abydos*, II, xxviii); and a fine portrait head has also been unearthed there (*Abydos*, III, xii, 4).

But the most important piece of evidence in this respect is to be observed in the fact that the Pharaoh made a secondary tomb for himself in the desert a short distance south of the ancient royal necropolis where Osiris-Khenti was buried. His actual tomb was in a pyramid at Dahshûr, near Memphis, which I shall describe presently; but here at Abydos he made for himself a sepulchre or cenotaph, which may have been intended either as an alternative tomb or as a place for the mystical burial of his spirit. Several previous Pharaohs are known to have had two tombs, but the exact manner in which both were employed is not apparent. The tomb of Sesusri III at Abydos was discovered by Prof. Petrie and myself (*Abydos*, III, p. 11), but it had been entirely plundered in ancient times. It is a long tunnel cut into the rock beneath the surface of the desert, and in a chamber at the end stood the red-granite sarcophagus and the box for the reception of the canopic vases. Above, on the surface of the desert, a walled courtyard had been made, 520 feet by 296 feet in measurement; and outside this enclosure there were the tombs of some of the great nobles or princes. Here a massive brick construction, made in the form of a tomb, proved to be a sort of dummy, specially built to hide the mass of chippings from the tunnel, so that future robbers, whose attentions were always dreaded by the Pharaohs, should not observe them and so be led to detect the presence of the concealed royal tomb beneath the sand of the courtyard.

In a direct line, some 750 yards east of the entrance of this enclosure, just where the cultivated land meets the desert, a small mortuary temple dedicated to Sesusri III was found by Dr. MacIver; and here it is to be supposed that the offerings to the spirit of the king after his death were made (MacIver and Mace, *Amrah and Abydos*, xx).

The Pharaoh's pyramid at Dahshûr, at the other end of Egypt, was called Hotpe, "Peace," and was constructed of brick, cased with stone. It was excavated by de Morgan

(*Dahchour*, II, 87) ; and near it he found the sepulchres of the Queen Nofrethent, and the Princesses Ment, Sentsonb, Meryt, and Sithathor, the last named being probably the Pharaoh's sister, and the other three his daughters. The exquisite jewellery found in these tombs forms part of the great treasure now preserved in the Cairo Museum : it reveals the luxury and the perfection of artistic taste prevailing at this time, and shows us at a glance that the period of the Twelfth Dynasty was an age of the highest culture, when the life of the wealthier classes was lived under conditions so fair and so charming that even the fastidious mind of the modern man finds itself enticed into a sort of envy of those who dwelt on the banks of the Nile nearly 4,000 years ago.

Although the queen named Nofrethent was buried at Dahshûr, another lady called Merseger seems to have been the chief wife of Sesusri III at the time of the Nubian wars ; for in the temple at Semneh Thutmose III of the Eighteenth Dynasty has left an inscription referring to an annual festival, called " The Binding of the Barbarians," which Sesusri had instituted in honour of " the great royal wife, Merseger," and another " royal wife " is there mentioned but without the epithet " great." The name of the latter is obliterated, but it was probably Nofrethent ; and the spirits of both these ladies were to receive certain specified offerings. Queen Merseger is also mentioned in an inscription now in the British Museum (No. 846).

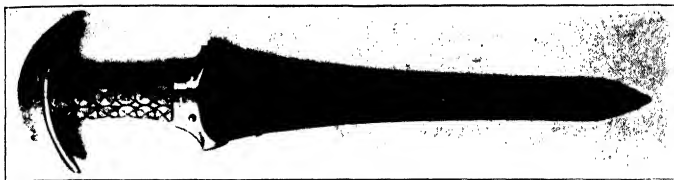
A certain official named Kheny has left an inscription at the quarries of Wady Hammamât in the Eastern desert, dated in the 14th year of the reign, on the 16th day of the 4th month of the 1st season, which corresponds to February 27th, 1985 B.C. This record reads :—" His Majesty ordered me to be dispatched to Hammamât to bring a beautiful block of black basalt for a monument which his Majesty had commanded to be made for the god Harshef, Lord of Eheninsi (Heracleopolis). . . . He sent me as director of the work because, in the opinion of his Majesty, I was a desirable (person), a trusty leader, keeping in subjection for him the four tribes of the eastern desert (just as I had) brought for him the goodly produce of the Libyans (of the western desert), by the greatness of his Majesty's fame . . ." (Cuyat and Montet, *Hammamât*,



47). This inscription shows us that Sesusri had previously sent his troops to the oases in the Libyan Desert; and thus we see that this energetic Pharaoh had pushed forward on his every frontier—up the Nile into the Sudan, across the north-eastern deserts to the borders of Syria, through the western deserts to the Libyan oases, and along the Red Sea coasts to Somaliland. He is also known to have worked the mines in Sinai; for a tablet and a statue have been found there at Serabit (Gardiner and Peet, *Sinai*, 81, 82).

The block of stone from Hammamât was to be used in the temple of Eheninsi, as stated above; and in that city fragments of this Pharaoh's temple-buildings have been found (Petrie, *Ehnasya*, xi, xiii, xiv; and *Annales*, xvii, 35). In many other cities, also, he built temples or adorned those which already existed. At Thoan (Tanis or Zoan) in the Delta an architrave and a statue have been unearthed (Petrie, *Tanis*, I, ii, 6, 7); at Nebesheh, the ancient Yemt, near Thoan, parts of statues have been found (Petrie, *Tanis*, II, ix, 2); at Khataaneh, in the same neighbourhood, red-granite door-jambs were discovered (*Zeitschrift*, xxiii, 12); not far away, at Tell Mokdam (? Leontonpolis) are the bases of two statues (Naville, *Ahnas*, 29, iv, xii); and at Tell Basta (Bubastis) several fragments have been brought to light, including the scrap of a chronicle mentioned on page 93 (Naville, *Bubastis*, xxxiii, xxxiv). At Thebes, in Upper Egypt, the king has left numerous traces of his activities. In the temple of Karnak two colossal red-granite statues, and other pieces have been found (Legrain, *Cat. Cairo Museum, Karnak*, 42011-2-3); there is an altar from Luxor now in the Cairo Museum; and in the Eleventh Dynasty temple at Dêr el-Bahri the king placed several statues of himself (Naville, *Eleventh Dynasty Temple*, I, xix; II, ii), three of which are now in the British Museum (158, 159, 160). The base of a statue was discovered in the ruins of the temple of Gebeleyn, a few miles south of Thebes, and is now in the Cairo Museum.

I may mention here some other objects inscribed with the name of this Pharaoh. From Riqqeh comes a gold ornament in the shape of a shell (Engelbach, *Riqqeh*, Pl. 1); in the New York Museum there is a sphinx carved in diorite (*Bulletin Met. Mus. N.Y.*, June, 1920); there is an inscribed mortar



A BRONZE DAGGER WITH GOLD AND JEWELLED HANDLE, OF THE  
TWELFTH DYNASTY.

*See page 78.*



TWO DIADEMS BELONGING TO A PRINCESS OF THE TWELFTH DYNASTY.  
(From de Morgan's *Dahchour*)

*See page 78.*



in the Cairo Museum (*Cat.* 18735) ; and from Koptos comes an inscribed tablet (Lange and Schäfer, *Cat. Cairo Mus.*, 20702) which, however, is probably of later date.

Several private tombstones bear the king's name at the head ; and there are various small objects, cylinder-seals, and scarabs, in different museums.

A very interesting sidelight on the life of the provincial princes of the time is thrown by the inscriptions and scenes represented in the tomb of a prince of the Hare-Province, named Thuthotpe, who lived during the reign of Sesusri III. The tombs of this family are carved out of the cliffs at a place called El Bersheh, opposite the town of Eshmunên, which, under its old name of Ekhnunenu (the Hermopolis of the Greeks) was the capital of that province (Newberry and Griffith, *El Bersheh*). The family was of ancient origin, and the genealogies recorded in the inscriptions carry it back certainly into the Eleventh Dynasty if not earlier. It is possible that these princes became the ancestors of the kings of the late Seventeenth Dynasty, from whom sprang the great Eighteenth Dynasty, for these Pharaohs certainly had some close connection with Eshmunên (page 213), though the fact that the genealogical connection is nowhere actually stated or implied is rather against the supposition.

The most interesting scene represented in the tomb of Thuthotpe shows the transport of a colossal statue of this prince, which is dragged by 172 men in four double rows, hauling upon four ropes. The statue which was 13 cubits, or over 22 feet, in height, was made out of a single block of alabaster obtained from the famous quarries of Hetnub, and must have weighed about 60 tons in its finished state. These quarries are situated in the desert some ten miles from the Nile, and the colossus had to be dragged this distance over the prepared but still very rough road which had been in use certainly as early as the Sixth Dynasty (see Vol. I, p. 233) ; then it had to be hauled across the fields to the river and floated down to Ekhnunenu, and finally it had to be transported through that city to the temple where it was to be set up. It was a great undertaking, of which the prince was justly proud ; and in these inscriptions we see that it was carried out in that happy and light-hearted spirit which char-

acterizes the labours of both ancient and modern Egypt. We are so inclined to regard these colossal undertakings of the days of the Pharaohs as involving cruel slave-driving and the merciless use of the whip ; but actually, as any one who has employed labour in Egypt will understand, such feats of sheer strength were carried out then, as now, by the mild and good-natured Egyptians with a jollity unknown in the west. The picture of the operation, shown in the tomb, reveals the figure of a man beating time and apparently singing a hauling-song to which the labourers respond ; and a knowledge of the customs of the modern Egyptians enables one to reconstruct the scene—the men singing as they work, the foremen jokingly cracking their whips, the laughter at mishaps, the cheering and shouting, and the childlike enthusiasm. The prince's own description of the work reveals the spirit in which it was executed. "The way over which the statue had to come (down from the quarries) was very difficult, beyond anything," he tells us, "and the dragging of large things upon it would have been trying to the spirit of the people, because of the rough stone of the ground, which was hard stone ; (so) I caused the young men of the recruits to come to make a (new) road for it, together with gangs of necropolis-stone cutters and quarrymen, (with) foremen and experts. The men of strength (volunteered), saying, 'We have come to bring it !'—whereat my heart was glad ; and the townspeople were gathered together happily (offering their help). Very good it was to see, beyond everything ! There was (even) an old man amongst them, leaning upon a child. The men of strong arm (were there) together with the weak. Their courage rose, their arms grew strong, so that each one of them put forth the strength of a thousand men. This statue, which was a squared block when it issued from the great hillside, was more valuable than anything. . . . The (whole) province shouted and applauded. When I arrived (with it) in the precincts of the city the people were gathered together, praising. Very good it was to see, beyond everything !" (Newberry, *El Bersheh*).

Thutotpe is careful to tell us in other passages of this inscription that the Pharaoh had given him permission to make this statue of himself. "Our hearts are glad at this

favour of the king," the workmen are made to say; and, indeed, the prince points out that he holds his title only by the royal favour. The provincial nobles, in fact, might be prosperous and powerful; but the Pharaoh held their destinies in his hand, and they could do nothing without his permission. Sesusri III was even more autocratic than many of his predecessors, and the fervour with which he was revered and obeyed is clearly shown in the following poem in his honour found amongst the Kahun papyri (Griffith, *Kahun Pap.*, 2):—

"Homage to you, O Khekeure, our Hawk-king, divine-one of beings!—protecting the land and widening its boundaries, restraining the foreign nations by his kingly crown; embracing the Two Lands within the compass of his hands; seizing the nations in his grip; slaying the Barbarians without stroke of his mace, shooting an arrow without drawing the bowstring. Dread of him (alone) has smitten the Bedouin in their desert plain; his terror has slain the tribes of the Nine Bows. His word has caused the death of thousands of the Barbarians . . . who had reached his frontier. Shooting the arrow as does the goddess Sekhmet, he overthrows thousands of those who knew not his mighty spirit. The tongue of his Majesty binds Nubia in fetters: his utterances put the Sudanese to flight. Sole one of youthful vigour, guarding his frontier, suffering not his subjects to faint, but causing the aged to sleep (soundly) until the daylight! As for his trained cadets, in their slumbers his thought (for them) is their protection. His decrees have created his boundaries; his word has armed the Two Regions.

"Twice joyful are the gods, for you, (O king,) have established their offerings. Twice joyful are your princes, for you have fixed their boundaries. Twice joyful are your ancestors who were before you, for you have increased their share (of the sacrifices). Twice joyful is Egypt at your strong hand, for you have guarded the ancient order. Twice joyful are the aged at your administration, for your mighty spirit has taken upon itself their provisionment. Twice joyful are the Two Lands at your valour, for you have widened their possessions. Twice joyful are your young men at your support, for you have brought prosperity to them (also). Twice joyful are your veterans, for you have caused them to be vigorous again.

Twice joyful are the Two Lands because of your might, for you have guarded their walls. Twice joyful be you, O Hawking, widening your frontiers; may you renew an eternity of life!

"Twice great are the inhabitants of the king's city, for he (himself) is a multitude and a host. Twice great are the inhabitants of his city, for he is a flood-gate pouring forth streams of its waterfloods. Twice great are the inhabitants of his city, for he is a bower, letting every man lie down in the midday heat. Twice great are the inhabitants of his city, for he is a defence, like walls built of the hard stones of Goshen. Twice great are the inhabitants of his city, for he is a refuge shutting out the plunderer. Twice great are the inhabitants of his city, for he is an asylum shielding the timid from his enemy. Twice great are the inhabitants of his city, for he is a shade at the time of the high Nile, providing coolness in the summer. Twice great are the inhabitants of his city, for he is a warm corner of shelter in the winter. Twice great are the inhabitants of his city, for he is a rock shielding them from the wind on a stormy day. Twice great are the inhabitants of his city, for he is as the goddess Sekhmet (the destroying goddess) to the foes who tread upon his boundary. . . .


"He has come; he has ruled Egypt, and the desert he has placed in his power. He has come; he has protected the Two Lands, he has given peace in the dual kingdom. He has come; he has revived Egypt, he has destroyed its afflictions. He has come; he has made the aged to live, he has expanded the breathing of the people. He has come; he has trampled on the nations, he has defeated the Bedouin who knew not his terror. He has come; he has established his frontiers, he has rescued the robbed. . . . He has come; and we bring up our children and bury our aged by his favour. . . ."

The highest date in the reign, of which we have any record, is the Year 33 which occurs on a document amongst the Kahun Papyri (Griffith, *Kahun Pap.*, 85); but on page 31 I have shown that the Turin Papyrus must have given 39 years as the length of the reign, plus a now missing fraction which would have been part of his incompleted 40th year. During the last months of his life he associated the future Amenemhet III on the throne with him (Lepsius, *Auswahl der Wichtigsten*

*Urkunden*, 10 ; Prisse, *Monuments*, 9) ; and as, in the previous instances of these co-regencies in this dynasty, the partnership seems to have begun when the elder king was about 70 years of age, we may perhaps assume that Sesusri III was about that age at this time, which means that he was about 30 when he came to the throne. His death brought to an end a vigorous reign which, judging by the honour in which he was held both during and long after his lifetime, must have been one of the most glorious in Egyptian history.

DYN. XII, 6. LAMARE AMENEME : NEMAERE AMENEMHET  
(III)

1959-1911 B.C.

The names of the new king, who thus became sole Pharaoh after a few months of co-regency with Sesusri III, are as follows. As Reed- and Hornet-king he was called by a name which seems to read Nemaetre or Nemaere, meaning " Possessing the Truth (or the Warranty) of the Sun-god " ; but it is not certain whether the word *maet*, " truth," ( " right," " warranty ") was still pronounced at this period with the final *t*, or whether that letter had already become silent, as it certainly was in later times. Nemaere may well be the original of the Lamari(s), Lamare(s), and Lampare(s) of Manetho's list, who follows his Sesostri(s) ; for the conversion of N into L is phonetically probable. But there is a question whether the first sign  is really to be read Ne (see Vol. I, pp. 47, 48, 50 and 51). It is possible that it was here used in its archaic character, having some such sound as *Bi* ; and it is also possible that this Bi (or Ne) is to be placed after the Mae (or Maet), thus giving Maebire, which would be a possible original of another known Greek reading, Labari(s). But, in the absence of definite knowledge on this point, we may as well stick to the generally accepted reading Nemaet(re). As Hawk-king he took the name of Oebeu, meaning " Great-one of the (ancestral) spirits." As Lord of the Vulture and the Cobra he was called Ithetieueu, " Grasping the heritage of the Past," though in one case the name seems to be written Ithetietou, " Grasping the heritage of the Two Lands." As Hawk of Nubi he was called Wahrenkh, " Abundant is his life," which was the Hawk-name of his



ancestor, the first king of the Eleventh Dynasty (Vol. I, p. 288). His personal name, Amenemhet, was used with his Heliopolitan title, Son of the Sun-god.

Now, the names "Possessing the Warranty of the Sun-god," "Great-one of the Ancestral Spirits," "Grasping the Heritage of the Past," together with his adoption of the name of his great ancestor Wahenkh, seem to suggest that he had not been the real heir to the throne, but had been elevated to the kingship by Sesusri III, who believed that in so doing he was carrying out the behests of his ancestors. As the new king reigned nearly 50 years, and as he associated his successor, Amenemhet IV, on the throne with him in the last year of his life, when, judging by the age at which the previous co-regencies had been commenced, he (Amenemhet III) was about 70 years of age, we may suppose that he was not more than 20 years of age when Sesusri elevated him to the joint kingship. Thus he could hardly have been Sesusri's eldest son: he was more probably his grandson, or even a nephew or more distant relative, chosen by the old monarch because of his strong character, his appointment being supported by this pretext that he was the choice of the ancestral spirits and held the warranty of the Sun-god himself, the divine founder of the Pharaonic line. Perhaps, indeed, Sesusri was hardly consulted in regard to the appointment; for it may be that, in his old age, when his last sickness was upon him, the joint kingship was more or less seized by this young and energetic prince, who himself declared that he was the man chosen by the spirits of the royal ancestors to inherit the throne, and embodied this declaration in the names he took, supporting it also by a declaration which he caused to be inscribed in the temple of Sobk at Shedet in the Fayûm, as we shall read on page 115.

Be this as it may, Amenemhet III proved himself to be a fitting successor of the great Sesusri III, and his long tenure of the throne was one of the glorious epochs of Egyptian history.

In recording, now, what I believe to be the first historical event of the reign, of which we have any knowledge, I shall be accused of entering the regions of fiction, for I shall be drawing upon foreign traditions which may not have taken shape until many centuries later, and which have been regarded

by many critics as having little relation to fact. I refer to the Biblical story of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Joseph, and at the outset I must give my reasons for the suggestion I am going to make—that Joseph's release from prison and appointment to office were historical events which occurred in 1959 B.C., the year of the accession of Amenemhet III. In dealing with these old Hebrew traditions, the historian has to work as it were between two fires; for, on the one hand, he is attacked by the orthodox Biblical student who thinks that the Jewish patriarchs partake of divine qualities, and must not be humanized into simple historical characters, and, on the other hand, he is open to the assault of the modern critic who has gone to the other extreme, and regards the introduction of these characters into real history as a scientific lapse, fit only for ridicule. Actually, however, the common sense of the matter is to be found in the building up of our history from whatever sources will pass the test of plausibility, making no difference in this respect between the Bible and any other ancient chronicle; and in the following argument I shall only attempt to show that the Hebrew traditions seem to be based on fact.

In the previous volume of this history, page 318, I have shown that Abraham, who was doubtless a perfectly historical character, left Egypt, in all probability, in the year 2111 B.C., that is to say on the accession of Amenemhet I, the founder of the Twelfth Dynasty. The dating of this event in Abraham's life may be regarded as pretty well assured, on the following grounds. Firstly, scholars are agreed that as he probably lived during the time of Hammurabi of Babylonia, who seems to be the "Amraphel, King of Shinar" of the Bible, and whose reign has been fixed astronomically by Kugler to 2123–2081 B.C., his sojourn in Egypt is to be dated within or just before that period. Secondly, we have the coincidence that Amenemhet I began his reign by issuing a decree deporting the Asiatic settlers who had come into Egypt owing to the famine in Syria, while the Bible tradition tells us, similarly, that Abraham, who had come to Egypt owing to a famine, was ordered to leave the country by the Pharaoh. And, thirdly, my new system of Egyptian chronology has shown us definitely that Amenemhet I, who issued this decree, came to

the throne in 2111 B.C. and was certainly a contemporary of Hammurabi, and therefore, it seems, of Abraham. Starting, then, from what may reasonably be regarded as the fixed point of the deportation of Abraham, we may work out the Bible dates for the preceding and subsequent incidents in a spirit which, from that of amused experiment, presently becomes one of confidence as we find that they reveal an entirely probable sequence of events.

Abraham, let us suppose, left Ur of the Chaldees about the time of the accession of Hammurabi in 2123 B.C., not long after he had married Sarah, who would then be about 14 years of age, 13 or 14 being the age at which girls were married, according to the custom of that time and locality. Some four or five years later, say about 2118 B.C., Abraham arrived in Egypt, with Sarah, then 18 or 19, and at the height of her beauty, as the Bible indirectly tells us; and, after a residence of some 7 years or so in Egypt, he was deported in 2111 B.C., Sarah then being 25 or 26 years of age. We may next suppose that she was about 30 when, realizing that she was not likely to have a child, she handed Hagar, her Egyptian servant, over to her husband, and Ishmael was born. Some 14 years later, as the Bible tells us, i.e. in about 2093 B.C., when Sarah was 44 or 45, she gave birth to Isaac, although she believed that she was past the child-bearing age. She died 37 years later, according to the Bible, that is to say in about 2056 B.C., when she would have been about 81 or 82. Some 23 years later, so the Bible says, giving the age of Isaac as 60 at the time, i.e. in 2033 B.C., Jacob was born. Jacob had a son, Joseph, born when he was getting on in years. Let us suppose that this was in about 1989 B.C., when Jacob was 44; and then we read that this Joseph was carried off to Egypt at the age of 17, that is to say about 1973 B.C., when his father would be about 61. The Bible then says that Joseph was appointed to office by the Pharaoh when he was 30 years of age, which would be in about 1959 B.C., when his father, Jacob, must have been about 74 years old. When Joseph sent for his father, Jacob had mourned for his lost son for 20 years, so the Talmud says; and this event therefore may be placed at 1953 B.C., when Joseph had been in office 6 years or so and was 36 or 37 years of age, and Jacob was 80, an age which the Bible

makes probable by the statement that he was so old that he had to be carried. He died, according to the Bible, 17 years later, when he must have been 97.

Such is the tentative sequence of events, and the main fact which emerges from these calculations is that the periods between the events as given in the Bible are all so probable that we can feel that we are dealing with facts carefully handed down, the only errors being in the absurd ages given to these otherwise historical characters by some later editor. The dating of the events is not so speculative as one might imagine at first sight, for we are held to some extent by known or probable limits. The actual date B.C. of the appointment of Joseph is, of course, dependent on the age of his father Jacob at Joseph's birth ; but then we can check Jacob's age by the fact that he was old enough to have to be carried when he came to Egypt to see his son, and yet lived on for another 17 years ; so that to assume that he was 97 at his death, 80 when he came to Egypt, and 60 when Joseph was carried off, brings us to about 44 for his age at Joseph's birth. This age of 44 can hardly be reduced, since Joseph had a number of brothers much older than himself, and was regarded as the child of his father's declining years, and in the East the 40th year is proverbially supposed to mark the beginning of a man's decline ; nor can it be increased without involving the improbability of Jacob being even more than 97 at his death. The birth of Jacob is fixed by the Biblical statement of the length of time between that event and the birth of his father, Isaac ; and there is no improbability in the record that Isaac was 60 at Jacob's birth, as any person will know who has travelled in the desert and has seen many an old desert chieftain of the present day with his infant children, who are the offspring of a marriage to a young wife contracted in his advanced years, after the activities of his roving life are over. The birth of Isaac, again, is fixed by the statement that it occurred 14 years after Ishmael's birth, and by the probable ages in the life of Sarah at which the different events occurred—13 being the probable age at which she was married ; 18 being the probable age of an Oriental woman when her beauty was such as to arouse the jealous fears of her husband ; 30 being the age at which she would think that she was not going to have a child ;

45 being both the latest age at which she could give birth to a child and the earliest age at which she would regard such an occurrence as a sort of miracle ; and 81 being a reasonable age for her death.

These probabilities, thus, bring us to the year 1959 B.C. as that of the release of Joseph from prison and his appointment to office by the Pharaoh ; and this year is that of the accession of Amenemhet III, the king with whom we are now concerned. Let us, therefore, reconstruct the traditional Hebrew story of Joseph from the Bible, the Talmud, and Josephus, and see how it fits into the known facts of the history of this reign derived from Egyptian sources.

Joseph, having been sold into slavery by his brothers, was carried into Egypt and was bought by a captain of the guard, who presently gave the young man a position of trust in his house, believing his story that his father was a wealthy tribal chieftain. One day—it must have been in the first half of the month of August—all the members of the household, except Joseph and his master's wife, went out to make holiday at the festival of the overflowing of the Nile-floods (see page 38), and when they came home they found the lady of the house in tears, an attempt, she said, having been made on her virtue by the handsome young Hebrew. Joseph was given a beating, and later his master brought a case against him in court, and, though the magistrates disagreed in regard to his guilt, he was sent to prison. Here he was very kindly treated by the governor, who made him his factotum, and he remained for 11 or 12 years in fairly pleasant circumstances.

To join the prisoners there came at length two high court officials who had fallen into disgrace ; and Joseph, either through his own insight, or, more probably, by reason of his opportunities of hearing from the governor the talk of the day, was able to tell them that the one was going to be released and the other put to death. The Pharaoh who afterwards became Joseph's friend and patron was at this time a young man but lately married, and when his first child was born, a great feast was held, and to celebrate the happy event certain prisoners, including one of the two imprisoned officials, were released, the other being executed, just as Joseph had predicted. Two more years passed, and then, one night, the Pharaoh dreamed

his famous dream of the seven fat and seven lean cows ; and the high official who had known Joseph in prison, advised his royal master to send for him, pointing out that Joseph was the son of a very wealthy and influential Asiatic chieftain, but had been sold into slavery. Joseph was therefore shaved and dressed, and taken to the palace, where he interpreted the dream as meaning that after a period of seven years of high Niles and consequent abundance, the natural average would be adjusted by a corresponding period of low Niles and famine. At this time the queen was expecting the birth of a child, and Joseph, knowing, perhaps, that her first child, now two years old, was very ill, ventured to predict that it would not live much beyond the birth of the second infant. This, in fact, proved to be the case : a second son was born and the first died.

The Pharaoh took a fancy to Joseph, and was impressed by his apparent foreknowledge of events ; and, recognizing that he was of noble birth, he appointed him, at the age of 30, to a good post in connection with the food supplies of the country. Joseph, now in affluent circumstances, made his peace with his first master, married that personage's daughter, and built himself a villa on such a lavish scale that it took three years to complete. His abilities raised him to high office ; and he wisely prepared for the day when the low Niles should come by stocking the granaries of the country during the years of plenty. Some six years later his brothers arrived in Egypt to buy corn, and, after the dramatic recognition which is related in so much detail, Joseph sent for his father, Jacob. This wealthy old tribal chieftain was induced to make the journey to Egypt, and when he arrived in the land of Goshen, the part of the Delta nearest to the Asiatic frontier, Joseph went in state to meet him, brought him to the court, and introduced him to the Pharaoh, who had been greatly interested in the whole story. Jacob very touchingly blessed the Egyptian monarch, and the latter graciously allowed him to take up his residence in Goshen ; and, apparently during the next ten years, the old man was joined there by the families of his children and grandchildren.

At last Jacob died, 17 years after he had come to Egypt, and was embalmed according to the Egyptian custom. Joseph

then obtained leave from the Pharaoh to take his father's body back to Canaan, so that it might be buried in a tomb which Jacob had bought for himself there; and the king, wishing to honour the influential old chieftain and his clever son, sent a number of Egyptian troops as an escort for the body. When this company arrived at the tomb, however, its possession was disputed by the local tribesmen; and it was only after a pitched battle that the body of Jacob could be laid to rest. Joseph and his relatives then returned to Egypt, and 32 years after his family had settled in Goshen, the Pharaoh died. Joseph lived on to a ripe old age, and was able to nurse his great-grandchildren upon his knee; and when at last he died, his body was embalmed and placed in an Egyptian coffin.

Now there are points in this perfectly plausible story which tally remarkably with known facts in the reign of Amenemhet III. In the first place I have shown on page 106 that the king was probably only about 20 years of age when he came to the throne, and therefore it is quite likely that his eldest child was only two years old at the time. Joseph's imprisonment must have taken place during the reign of Sesusri III, and Amenemhet III may have just succeeded him, being, as I say, quite probably a young man with a baby of two years old. Secondly, Amenemhet III died after a reign of 49 years; and this would tally with the tradition that Joseph's royal patron died 32 years after Jacob's entire family had settled in Egypt, which, as I have stated above, was 16 years or so after Joseph had been released. Then again, as we shall presently see, Amenemhet III took such trouble to study the Nile-levels at the Second Cataract and carried out such great irrigation works that we may well suppose a series of low Niles and consequent famines to have caused his engineers to bestir themselves. Lastly, we shall see that during the course of these works, Amenemhet III caused a new canal to be made (page 114); and this canal to this day is called "Joseph's Canal" (*Bahr Yusuf*) by the Egyptians. It is true that we do not know how early this name was given to the canal, and of course it is possible, though not likely, that the "Yusuf" in question was some personage of Arabic times; but, assuming that the Biblical Yusuf or Joseph is referred to, it may be pointed out that traditions relating to events in ancient

Israelite history generally came to be adopted by the Egyptians in early Christian times and in the early years of the Mohammedan age, when the Hebrew Scriptures were recognized, and that, previous to this, the Jews in Egypt were in sufficient numbers to have kept alive the memory of their ancient connections with that country. Thus, in the case of this canal, the Jews of the early centuries A.D. may well have been able to point to it and to relate how their fathers had handed down a reliable record that it was made by their national hero, Joseph.

Let us, then, deal first with the great irrigation works conducted by Amenemhet III, and, in studying them, let us remember that the initiation and execution of these undertakings may very probably have been due in part to the genius of Joseph, who should be regarded neither as a sacred character of Holy Writ, nor as a semi-mythical figure in a discredited old Hebrew tradition, but as an ordinary historical personage of high importance, whose name and biography may even be found one day amongst the records which some archæologist, digging in Egypt, will bring to light.

The Bible states that the Pharaoh gave Joseph the name Zaphnath-Paaneah. Zaphnath, as Engelbach has pointed out, is the usual Egyptian term introducing a second name, and Paaneah is probably a corruption of the name Paenkh "The Life" or "The Living"; and thus some record of him may be looked for under the name "Yusuf, called Paenkh."

About 50 miles above Cairo, as the crow flies, a natural valley or channel leads into the desert on the west side of the Nile between two rocky headlands, and descends into a large and deep hollow amongst the hills, the lowest part of which is over 100 feet below sea level. This depression measures roughly some 25 miles from north to south and some 30 miles from east to west, the middle point being about 25 miles back from the Nile; and in the earliest days of Egyptian history practically the whole area must have formed one great lake, fed by the river each year at the time of the floods. It is now called the Fayûm, a name derived from the ancient Egyptian *Peyume*, meaning "The Lake." As early as the Fifth Dynasty, a small portion of this depression, near its entrance at the east side, where the level was not so low, had been reclaimed



by means of dykes, and a city had there grown up, called Shedet, "the Reclaimed"; and since the crocodile-god Sobk was worshipped in this region, the Greeks called the place Crocodilopolis. The wide expanse of water contained in this hollow was known to the Egyptians as Mour "the Great Water," and the Greeks, adding their termination *-is* to the word, made of it "the Lake of Moëris," by which name it is called by the classical writers. The marshy fringes of the lake were called Toshe "the marsh-land"; and here dwelt a race of aboriginal fenmen connected with the Set-tribes who figure so largely in the early history of Egypt.

Yearly the Nile-floods deposited their load of mud into this natural basin; and thus the level of the ground gradually rose, until to-day the lake has shrunk to that comparatively small sheet of water known as the Birket el-Karûn, and the main part of the hollow has become a luxuriant area of cultivated fields and gardens. In the time of Amenemhet III, however, we must picture the Fayûm as being one great sheet of water, into which projected a spit of land reclaimed from the shallows on the east side, whereon stood the town of Shedet, protected by dykes. Now, this king, Amenemhet III, appears to have been troubled by the recurrent famines and disasters caused in the past by low Niles, that is to say by the failure of the autumn inundation to rise to the necessary height for the proper irrigation of the land, and the extreme lowness of the river in the spring and early summer; and he seems to have seen in this hollow of the Fayûm a natural reservoir which might be made to supply the whole northern country with water during the months of the river's lowest levels. As has been said, the flood-waters each autumn streamed into the Fayûm along the natural valley which connected it with the Nile Valley, and then, when the floods began to sink, these waters ran out again across the fields into the river, until the level of the intervening ground stopped them, leaving a sheet of useless water pent up in the basin of the Fayûm; and this Pharaoh, or his advisers, conceived the idea of regulating this influx and discharge. His engineers therefore tapped the Nile at a point up-stream some 200 miles to the south, just north of Assiout, and dug a great canal—the *Bahr Yusuf*, or "Joseph's Canal"—by which the water could

be conveyed direct into the reservoir of the Fayûm during the season of the floods, could be held there by sluices, and then could be gradually let out again along the same artificial channel back to the Nile, so that, in the months when the water ran low, the level of the river could be kept up to a beneficial height from Assiout down to the sea. In this way it is estimated that in the flood-season they stored a quantity of surplus water so enormous that, when it was gradually released, it nearly doubled the volume flowing in the river during the three months of the lowest levels, in April to June (Brown, *The Fayûm and Lake Moeris*).

In carrying out this mighty engineering feat a great embankment or barrage was erected across the mouth of the natural entrance to the lake, so as to confine the inward and outward flow of the water to the canal which had been made; and at the same time these engineers pushed back and restricted the limits of the reservoir itself to the deeper part of the Fayûm hollow by constructing another embankment or dyke in a semicircle more than 20 miles in length, thus reclaiming some 20,000 acres, on the side nearest to the Nile Valley, and making rich fields of this area where, otherwise, there would have remained but those shallow and useless marshes at the edge of the lake, and the spit of land on which stood the town of Shedet. Thus Shedet came to be separated from the lake by a stretch of four or five miles of reclaimed land; and in the improved city the Pharaoh rebuilt the temple which his ancestor Amenemhet I had made (page 42), some traces of the building (Petrie, *Hawara*, xxvii, 10, 11) and part of an altar (Lange and Schäfer, *Cat. Cairo Mus.*, 20699) having been found.

He also caused a long inscription to be placed in this temple, the purpose of which was to show how Sesusri III had chosen him as his successor and had elevated him to the throne. Only a few fragments, now in the Berlin Museum, have survived; but it seems that much of the wording was repeated in the "coronation inscription" of Queen Hetshepsut, to which reference can be made (Breasted, *Records*, II, § 233).

"Joseph's Canal," by which the lake-reservoir was filled and emptied each year, seems to have passed around the south

and west sides of the city of Shedet, and then to have travelled northwards for some four miles until it cut through the great dyke at a point near the modern Biahmu, a name perhaps derived from the ancient *Periamu* "Lake View," an otherwise unidentified place in this district. Here there must have been a moveable dam or sluice-gates which have now disappeared ; and on either side, on top of the dyke, there was a great pyramid-like pedestal of stone, over 20 feet high, upon which towered a colossal statue of the Pharaoh seated upon his throne. These two statues were monoliths of shining white quartzite, each being 35 feet in height with a base of 4 feet, so that their heads were some 60 feet higher than the top of the dyke, itself many feet above the ground-level. They were still in position in the days of Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus, who describe them as two seated statues erected upon two pyramids towering above the water ; but now they are gone, and only some fragments, preserved in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, have survived (Petrie, *Hawara*, xxvi, xxvii).

This great engineering work must have saved the whole country north of Assiout from the famines due to low Niles ; and, for the benefit of the reaches further to the south, it is possible that the Pharaoh, in the first years of his reign, constructed a barrage at the Second Cataract, just below the fortresses of Semneh and Kummeh (page 91), thus holding back the flood in the autumn, and keeping up the height of the river in the months of the Nile's lowest levels by gradually letting the stored water through, as is now done at the Aswân dam. On the rocks at Semneh and Kummeh there are inscriptions cut at different levels, recording the height of the Nile in the years 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 14, 15, 22, 23, 24, 30, 32, 37, 40 and 41 of the king's reign (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 139). These inscriptions each read : " The outlet (or source, or beginning, or mouth : the word is *ro*) of the Nile in the Year *x* of the reign of King Amenemhet III, living for ever " ; and in some cases there is a straight line running through the sign *ro*, which seems to indicate that this marks the exact level to which the water reached. But these levels are from 26 to 30 feet higher than the highest levels of the present day, a fact which could be accounted for if one were to suppose that a barrage had been erected, which held up the water at this

point ; and Sir W. Willcocks has stated that such a barrage at this place would have been quite feasible. Another possibility is that a natural obstruction of rock, now worn away, held up the water at this point, causing the lower part of the cataract to have a much steeper fall than it has at present, but not affecting the lower reaches of the river. I am inclined to think, however, that a more probable explanation is that the levels here given are those reported from some outpost a few miles further to the south, beyond the frontier, where the river level would naturally have been that number of feet higher than at Semneh. If this be so there would have been no greater obstruction here than now exists, and no artificial barrage (and, indeed, there are no traces of such a work), and the use of the word *ro*, in its meaning of "source," would be understandable ; for the explanation would be that here at Semneh, near the frontier, were recorded the levels of the Nile as reported from the southernmost point to which the Egyptian officials could penetrate into the land of the Negroes, this point being therefore regarded as the "beginning" or practical "source" of the river so far as Egypt was concerned.

These records of the Nile levels show that the whole subject was being carefully studied ; but it is difficult to see what bearing they had on the Pharaoh's irrigation plans in the north, though this is often stated to be their object. The news of the height to which the river had attained at Semneh could hardly have been transmitted to the north in time to be of any service in making preparations for the arrival of the flood, though the telegraphing of such information at the present day is of value. More probably the records were part of a general scheme for the studying of the river levels at various points down its whole course, in order to ascertain over a number of years whether the good and bad Niles came with any regularity or could be traced to any particular cause. And it is certainly an interesting point for Biblical students to notice, that this attempt to get at the cause of the low Niles and consequent famines was made in the reign of the monarch to whom our calculations point as being the Pharaoh who traditionally dreamed of the seven lean and the seven fat cows which symbolized the seven years of bad Niles and the seven

of good. One can well imagine Amenemhet III dreaming of such things.

In connection with the above subject mention may be made of a series of inscriptions cut by various officials on the rocks near the First Cataract: these record the years 14, 15, 24, and 25, but otherwise are not of historical importance (Petrie, *Season*, 98, 151, 153, 154). At Kubbân, between the First and Second Cataracts, there is an inscription dated in "Year 11" (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 138); and at Dehmîd, also in that reach of the Nile, I found a tablet headed with the king's name (*Annales*, ix, 109) and dated in "Year 11," the 4th month of the 2nd season, corresponding to June.

Early in his reign the Pharaoh began the building of his pyramid, having selected a site in the desert at Dahshûr, not far south of Memphis, close to the pyramids of Amenemhet II and Sesusri III (De Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour*, II, i, xvi, xvii). It was an imposing structure made of brick, and having a casing of stone which has now disappeared; and the inner passages, which were somewhat complicated, led at length to the burial chamber, where stood a magnificent sarcophagus. The cap or apex of the pyramid was made of a single block of black granite shaped like a pyramidion, or miniature pyramid (see Vol. I, p. 159), upon the sides of which are inscriptions giving the Pharaoh's name, and a winged disk of the sun, and other symbols. It was found near the base of the building, where it had been precipitated when the stone casing which supported it fell away; and it is now in the Cairo Museum. Near the pyramid de Morgan found the tombs of two of the princesses, daughters of the king, who had apparently died during the first half of the reign. These ladies were named Hathorhotpe and Nubhotpekerd; and in their tombs a quantity of glorious jewellery was found, now preserved in the Cairo Museum.

Amenemhet III, however, followed the custom of many of his ancestors, and constructed two tombs for himself; and, since the great work of his reign was the creation of the reservoir in the Fayûm, he decided to build himself another pyramid on the edge of the spur of desert hills which formed the northern side of the natural valley leading into the hollow which contained the reservoir. The spot is about 4 miles east of Shedet,

the city which stood upon the land reclaimed from the lake ; about 7 miles south-east of the great sluice-gates at Biahmu ; and some 5 miles west of the pyramid of Sesusri II at Illahûn. From this tomb his spirit could look for ever westwards across the reclaimed land to the great sheet of the waters of the reservoir, wherein the setting sun was reflected each evening ; or eastwards down the valley, across fields beside the Nile, to the hills of the eastern desert where he could see the sunrise each morning ; while in front of him he would look down eternally on the great canal along which the water flowed year by year in and out of the reservoir.

This pyramid, which measured some 350 feet on each side, was made of brick, cased with stone ; and the internal passages, also of stone, were elaborately designed so as to thwart the robbers who one day might come to steal the gold and the jewels which were to be buried with him ; for it is apparent that he had decided that his mummy should rest there, and not in his pyramid at Dahshûr which now would be used as a cenotaph or secondary dwelling for his spirit. The entrance, in the first place, was constructed on the south side of the pyramid, instead of, as usual, on the north side, where possible robbers would waste their time in vainly hunting for it. Thence a long staircase descended to a chamber which, to a successful intruder, would appear to be the end of the tomb ; but actually the roof of this room was made to slide aside, and two passages opened out of the cavity above, one running straight ahead, and the other turning off to the right. The latter passage would appear to a robber to be but a blind, for it stood invitingly open, and ended in a blank chamber ; but the other passage would seem more promising, since it was carefully blocked with loosely fitting stones which looked as though they had been placed there to bar the way to the treasure beyond. Nevertheless, this also ended in a blank, the filling being placed there only to induce robbers to exhaust their patience in breaking through it, and actually the passage lying open on the right was the real entrance to the tomb. This, as I have said, ended in an empty chamber ; but here again there was a sliding roof, giving access to a passage above, which ran off to the left, and ended once more in a blank. A concealed trap in the roof, however, led along a passage to

a deep well, down which the intruder was expected hopefully to descend ; but this, again, was a blind. Beyond it was a chamber, at the other end of which was another well, also a blind. The wall on the right of the chamber, between the two wells, would next be observed to be constructed of blocks of stone loosely fitted in, suggesting that the tomb lay behind it ; yet this was again a trick, and the real entrance to the tomb-chamber was through a concealed opening in the floor, a position for it which was calculated to delay or altogether outwit the robbers, since the other traps had all been in the ceiling. A short passage led from this opening down to the tomb-chamber, but the robber would find the entrance barred by an immense block of stone, weighing 45 tons, which had been so arranged that it could be dropped into place after the interment.

The tomb-chamber was cut out of the living rock, which here rose somewhat into the mass of the pyramid erected upon it. Into this rectangular cavity a single block of polished quartzite was inserted ; but this block had been hollowed out with exquisite precision until it formed in itself the four walls and floor of a chamber, like a great cistern, 22 feet long and 8 wide by the inside measurement, the sides being over 2 feet thick, and the whole weighing in its finished state something like 110 tons. Inside this one-piece chamber of beautiful yellowish stone set in its bed of natural rock, the magnificent quartzite sarcophagus was placed ; and the lid of the chamber was formed of three great blocks of the same stone, one of them being that which was to bar the entrance by being let down from above after the body had been laid to rest. Above this chamber rose the solid mass of the pyramid, penetrated by the complicated passages and chambers described above.

Shortly after this marvellous tomb was finished, the Pharaoh suffered the loss of the princess who seems to have been his favourite daughter—the Lady Ptahnofru ; and it appears that nothing would satisfy him but that she should be buried in his own sepulchre—a proceeding without parallel—so that her spirit might for ever be shut up with his in the same chamber. He therefore caused a sarcophagus to be built for her, consisting of slabs of quartzite fitted into the space between the foot of his own sarcophagus and the wall of the chamber ;

and here she was buried. I may anticipate the story by saying now that in due time the king was buried beside her, but that in after years the dreaded robbers broke into the pyramid, were at first deceived by the various devices designed for that purpose, but at last mined their way into the burial-chamber, stole all the gold and jewellery, carried away and destroyed the two bodies, and burnt the remainder of the contents, only leaving a few fragments to be found in modern times by Petrie. These fragments included some pieces of alabaster vases and dishes, inscribed with the king's name, two quartzite boxes for holding the Canopic jars, and an alabaster altar or offering-table upon which the name of the princess is written (Petrie, *Kahun*, 12). In this inscription a curious superstition is revealed. According to the beliefs of the ancient Egyptians every creature of which a representation was painted or sculptured possessed a spiritual reality—that is to say it existed as a living entity in that spirit-world wherein the ghosts of the dead had their shadowy being; and the artist, whether he were sculptor, painter, or engraver, was termed *senkhi*, which means one who causes something to live. Now, many of the signs in the hieroglyphic script are pictures of birds and beasts, though they may stand for letters or syllables unconnected with the creatures represented; and at this period of Egyptian history the priests began to carry their beliefs to their logical conclusion, and to fear that these hieroglyphical signs which represented, and therefore *were*, living creatures, might walk out of the inscriptions in the spirit-world, or run about and make nonsense of them. Therefore we find that in the prayers engraved upon this particular altar of Princess Ptahnofru, as in several other inscriptions of this epoch, the legs have been removed from the bird-signs, the tails from the serpent-signs, and so forth, so that these birds should not scuttle off nor the snakes crawl away thereby making the words unreadable. It was a perfectly logical deduction, and, indeed, it may be said to have been an anticipation of the modern conception of a thought or an idea as a concrete thing.

Close to the pyramid, on the south side, King Amenemhet caused an immense series of buildings to be erected, covering an area about 1,000 feet long and 800 feet wide. This group



of temples, houses, and courts was described by Greek visitors, many centuries later, as a *Labyrinth*, that being the name also given to a somewhat similar group of buildings at Knossos in Crete, dating from the days of the Minoan rulers. The description given by Herodotus is as follows:—

“The Labyrinth lies a little above Lake Moeris, in the neighbourhood of the place called Crocodilopolis (the Greek name for Shedet). I visited this place, and found it to surpass description, for if all the walls and other great works of the Greeks could be put together in one, they would not equal, either for labour or expense, this Labyrinth; and yet the temple of Ephesus is a building worthy of note, and so is the temple of Samos. The Pyramids likewise surpass description, and are severally equal to a number of the greatest works of the Greeks; but the Labyrinth surpasses the Pyramids. It has twelve courts, all of them roofed, with gates exactly opposite one another, six looking to the north, and six to the south. A single wall surrounds the entire building. There are two different sorts of chambers throughout—half underground, half above ground, the latter built upon the former: the whole number of these chambers is three thousand, fifteen hundred of each kind. The upper chambers I myself passed through and saw, and what I say concerning them is from my own observation; but of the underground chambers I can only speak from hearsay, for the keepers of the building could not be induced to show them, since they contained, as they say, the sepulchres of the kings who built the Labyrinth and also those of the sacred crocodiles. Thus it is from hearsay only that I can speak of the lower chambers. The upper chambers, however, I saw with my own eyes, and found them to excel all other human productions; for the passages through the houses and the varied windings of the paths across the courts excited in me infinite admiration, as I passed from the courts into chambers, and from the chambers into colonnades, and from the colonnades into fresh houses, and again from these into courts unseen before. The roofing throughout was of stone, like the walls; and the walls were carved all over with figures. Every court was surrounded with a colonnade, which was built of white stones exquisitely fitted together. At the far end of the Labyrinth stands a pyramid, forty *orgyae*

(240 feet) high, with large figures engraved on it ; and this is entered by a subterranean passage."

Strabo writes of it thus : " We have here also the Labyrinth, a work equal to the Pyramids, and adjoining it the tomb of the king who constructed the Labyrinth. After proceeding beyond the first entrance of the canal (the Bahr Yusuf) about 30 or 40 stadia, there is a table-shaped plain, with a town and a large palace composed of as many palaces as there were formerly provinces. There are an equal number of halls, surrounded by pillars, and contiguous to one another, all in one line and forming one building like a long wall having the halls in front of it. The entrances into the halls are opposite to the wall. In front of the entrances there are long and numerous covered ways with winding passages communicating with each other, so that no stranger could find his way into the halls or out of them without a guide. The surprising circumstance is that the roofs of these dwellings consist of a single stone each, and that the covered ways through their whole range were roofed in similar manner with single blocks of stone of extraordinary size, without the intermixture of timber or of any other material. On ascending the roof, which is not of great height, for it consists only of a single story, there may be seen (as it were) a stone field composed thus of these blocks. Descending again and looking into the halls these may be seen in a line supported by 27 pillars, each consisting of a single stone. The walls also are constructed of stones not inferior in size to these. At the end of this structure, which is more than a stadium in length, is the tomb consisting of a square pyramid, each side of which is four plethra (400 feet) in length and of equal height. The deceased, who is buried here, is called Imandes (Amenemes). It is also asserted that so many palaces were built because it was the custom for all the provinces, represented by their magnates, with their priests and sacrificial victims, to assemble here to offer sacrifices to the gods, and to deliberate on the most important concerns. Each province then took possession of the hall assigned to it."

Pliny writes : " With such solidity is this huge mass of buildings constructed that the lapse of ages has been totally unable to destroy it, seconded as it has been by the people

of Heracleopolis who have marvellously ravaged a work which they have always held in abhorrence. To detail the position of this work and the various portions of it is quite impossible, it being subdivided into regions and præfectures which are styled Provinces, 30 in number, with a vast palace assigned to each. In addition to these it contains temples of all the gods of Egypt, and 40 statues of Nemesis in as many sacred shrines, besides a great pyramid, forty *ells* in height, and covering six *arurae* at the base. Fatigued with wandering to and fro, the visitor is sure to arrive at some or other inextricable crossing of the galleries; and then, too, there are banqueting halls situated at the summit of steep ascents; porticos from which we descend by flights of 90 steps, columns in the interior, made of porphyrites, figures of gods, statues of kings, and effigies of hideous monsters. Some of the palaces are so peculiarly constructed that the moment the doors are opened a dreadful sound like that of thunder reverberates within. The greater part, too, of these edifices has to be traversed in total darkness."

This vast series of buildings—perhaps the greatest ever erected in the whole history of Egypt—seems to have formed the seat of government for the whole country, religious and civil, and was particularly dedicated to Sobk, the crocodile god of the Fayûm. Already, in the time of Pliny, as we have just read, it was in ruins and was being destroyed by the inhabitants of Eheninsi (Heracleopolis), a city some 14 miles to the south, where the god Hershef was adored, whose worshippers were always at religious strife with the devotees of Sobk. In the Middle Ages the ruins were used as a quarry, and the last remnants of the stone were removed by the workmen who built the Fayûm railway in the nineteenth century; and thus when Petrie explored the site in 1889 he found only masses of stone chippings, parts of the foundations of the floors of some of the chambers, fragments of the figures of gods, pieces of inscribed blocks, portions of some of the columns, and some remains of the shrines and statues of the king (Petrie, *Labyrinth*, xxiii-xxxii; Petrie, *Hawara*, xxvii; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 140).

This Labyrinth seems to have been called Amenemhetenkh, "Life of Amenemhet," for in the breccia quarries of Wady

Hammamât there is an inscription dated on the 15th day of the 1st month of the 2nd season (March 17th, 1941 B.C.) in the 19th year of the reign, stating that an expedition had been sent there to fetch "monuments of beautiful black stone from Hammamât to Amenemhetenkh for the Temple of the god Sobk, (namely) 10 statues of 5 cubits ( $8\frac{1}{2}$  feet), (each) upon a throne, and (all) quarried in this year" (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 138). A second inscription also refers to these 10 statues, and says that the expedition consisted of 20 men of the Necropolis, 30 quarrymen, 30 sailors, and an escorting army of 2,000 men. A third reference to this expedition is given in another inscription which says that it came to Hammamât "on a commission of the Hawk, Lord of the palace, to bring a monument for him." There is also an inscription dated in the following year, 13th day of the 3rd month of the 1st season, i.e. January 13th, 1940 B.C. At Hammamât, I ought also to mention, there is an inscription dated on the 1st day of the 3rd month of the 1st season in the 2nd year of the reign (January 5th, 1958 B.C.), stating that a military officer named Amenemhet came there in command of an expedition, reaching it in safety by the blessing of the god Min, Lord of the Desert; and he speaks of himself as one who had fought against the Negroes, presumably in the reign of Sesusri III, and had penetrated to the land of the Asiatics. Yet another inscription is dated on the 3rd day of the 3rd month of the 1st season in Year 3 of the reign (January 7th, 1957 B.C.), and records the arrival at Hammamât of four officers in command of another expedition. It should be observed, by the way, that all these four dates fall in the winter season, the proper time of year for working the quarries, the significance of which will be seen by reference to page 27 (see, besides Lepsius, Couyat and Montet, *Hammamât*, 17, 18, 42, 43, 48, 81, 96, 108).

With reference to the name Amenemhetenkh mentioned in one of these inscriptions, I think it is just possible that we may find in it a clue to the origin of the word "Labyrinth," the source of which is otherwise unknown. In the reign of Meryre Piop of the Sixth Dynasty there was a queen who was alternately called Meryre-enkhnes or Piop-enkhnes (Vol. I, p. 225); and there are various other instances in which either of the

two chief names of a Pharaoh are used alternately when they form part of a compound word. On this analogy the name Amenemhet-enkh might alternate with Nebmaere-enkh; and I have observed on page 105 that one of the Greek renderings of the name Nebmaere is Labari(s). Thus, we might have Labari-enkh as the later reading of the name of this great series of buildings; and a transition from "Labarienkh" to "Labyrinth" is very possible. I offer the explanation without entire belief in it; but, after all, there is something to be said for a supposition which suggests that the Greeks called the building "Labyrinth" because "Labyrinth" was its name.

Some time during the reign there must have been a great campaign in the Sudan, although there is no definite record of it, for relics of this Pharaoh have been found at Kerma at the Third Cataract (Reisner, *Kerma*, II, 512), including a stela dated "Year 33, 1st day of the 1st month of the 3rd season," corresponding to June 28th, 1927 B.C., which happens to be the eve of the rising of Sirius in that year, though the inscription does not mention the fact. It records the completion of a building erected by a certain Treasurer named Intef, and 35,300 bricks are stated to have been laid.

A great deal of work was carried out in the mines of Sinai during the lifetime of this Pharaoh, and the records inscribed there mention the years 2, 4, 5, 6, 8, 11, 13, 15, 18, 20, 23, 25, 27, 29, 30, 31, 38, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, and 45 of the reign (Gardiner and Peet, *Sinai*). An inscription at Wady Maghâra, the great copper-mining centre in Sinai, states that a certain Treasury-official was sent there in the 2nd year of the reign with an army of 734 men; and the same official has left a record at Serabit el-Khadem, the other great centre, dated in the same year. From another record at Wady Maghâra, dated in this year, it seems that the journey to these mines was made by sea, probably from Suez; for an official named Hornakht writes: "I crossed over the sea to fetch the riches (of Sinai), by order of the Hawk who is Lord of the Palace (i.e. the Pharaoh)." Some of the officials who came to these distant mines left admonitions to those who should come in after years, asking them to say a prayer for their soul's welfare. For instance, one inscription says: "May he be beloved,

and arrive (home) in safety who shall say a prayer for the spirit of the Treasurer Sobkhotpe, beloved of the goddess Hathor, Lady of this malachite-country, and for the store-keeper Yatu, and for the Chief of the Palace of the Pharaoh, Senebtefi, and for the 20 (?) quarrymen (with them)"; and another inscription reads: "May the god Ptah of Memphis, and the goddess Hathor, Lady of the malachite-country, love him who shall say a prayer for the spirit of the treasurer Sesusri." Another record, left by a Treasury-official named Sobkherheb, says: "I excavated a mine-gallery for my lord, and my young men continued, in full number, all of them, nor was there one that died amongst them." This official says: "O you king's nobles and peers of the palace!—give praise to the king, exalt his fame, praise the king, and watch that which is his; for the mountains bring forth what is in them (for him) and the hills offer their wealth. . . . O, you who live upon the earth and who shall come to these mining districts!—as your king has established you, as your gods favour you so that you may reach (your homes) in safety, so say (a prayer for) a thousand offerings for the spirit of the treasurer Sobkherheb." A treasurer named Ptahur, writing in the 45th year of the reign, says " (I was one who was sent) to bring many (supplies?) from the land of . . . kwy, who was expert in (making) his reports to his lord, who (subjected) the land of the Asiatics to him who is in the Palace (i.e. the Pharaoh), who brought Sinai to his heels, who traversed inaccessible valleys, and attained the unknown boundaries (of the earth)."

One very important inscription which belongs unquestionably to this dynasty but does not actually give the name of the reigning Pharaoh, who, however, may well have been Amenemhet III, reads as follows: "The Majesty of this god (i.e. the king) dispatched (me), the Treasurer Horurre to this mining district, and I arrived in this land in the 3rd month of the 2nd season, although it was not the season for going to this mining-district." This time of year, between 2100 and 1900 B.C., would have corresponded to May or June (see page 29), and June is the hottest month of the summer. "This treasurer declares to the officials who may (happen to) come to this mining district at this season: 'Let not your

faces flinch on that account, for the goddess Hathor will turn it to profit. I reasoned with myself, and I took firm hold of myself, when I set out from Egypt (in the heat). My face flinched, and it was hard for me (to endure it ?) ; for the desert is hot in summer, and the rocks brand the skin, (so that) when morning dawns a man is (dismayed ?) I spoke to the workmen in regard to it, (saying) " How favoured is he who is in this mining-district ! "—(but) they said " There may be malachite in these everlasting hills, but is it endurable (?) to seek it at this season ? To hear (of such an undertaking) is like a marvel to us, happening at this season. Is it endurable (?) to seek (?) for it in this terrible summer season ? " But when I was dispatched to this mining district the spirits of the king put it in my heart (to do it), and when I arrived in this land I began the work successfully. My army, (too), arrived in full number, all of it, nor was there any amongst them that fell. My face did not flinch before the work. I succeeded in mining a good vein (?), and I finished in the 1st month of the 3rd season,' (i.e. about July) ; ' and I brought away genuine costly stone, (fit) for the richest things, (in quantities) more than any one who had come (here before had obtained). . . . (In fact,) the work was (carried out) better than (in) the proper season for it. Therefore make offerings, make offerings to the Lady of Heaven, and propitiate Hathor, for if you do so it will be well with you. If you increase (your service) to her, it shall (indeed) be well amongst you.' (Of course), I managed my men with great kindness, and I did not shout at the workmen."

This excessive dread of the desert in summer-time is interesting as showing that Egyptian officials of Pharaonic times were accustomed to a life of comfort, and were just as afraid of hardship as are some of their elegant descendants of the present day. In modern times many English officers and officials know what it is to do their work in the height of summer in the Egyptian deserts as a matter of course ; and, as one whose duties were not interrupted by the hot season, I can say that, though trying, the heat is not unbearable ; but I recall occasions when members of my native staff were nearly overcome, and, like the Treasurer Horurre, found it hard to endure. This record of his hardships is very important

to us in regard to the question of Egyptian chronology, for it shows that work at the mines and quarries was only carried on in the cool season, and that therefore all seasonal dates recorded at such places (with recognizable exceptions) must be assigned to years B.C. in which those dates in the revolving Egyptian calendar correspond to some time in winter. For example, the 3rd month of the 1st season corresponds to January in 1940 B.C., and therefore a record of a quarrying expedition dated in that month may be assigned to that year B.C., because the calendar-month then corresponds to an actual month in the cool season when work at the quarries is to be expected; but the same 3rd month of the 1st season in, say, 2500 B.C. would correspond to June, and thus we should see at once that 2500 B.C. was not a correct date. On page 27 of this volume, and page 37 of Vol. I, I have shown how all such calendar dates fall in their right place according to my chronology; but Horurre's words at once upset Prof. Petrie's system, at any rate in the earliest Egyptian dynasties, since his reckoning for the reign of Snofru, for instance, is based on his statement that "the season of quarrying was during the spring and summer" (*Historical Studies*, p. 11), and the quarrying dates in that reign all fall, according to his chronology, in the hot season, but, on the other hand, according to my system, they all fall in winter.

In passing, I may mention two little inscriptions of historical interest. One is written in a quarry at Turrah, opposite Memphis, whence the best white limestone was obtained (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 143; and Vyse, *Operations*, III, 94), and tells us that in Year 43 a quarry "was newly opened to obtain the fine limestone of Ayan for the temples. . . ." The other is written on the tablet from El Kâb, mentioned on page 81, and states that in the Year 44 a wall was built at that place, within the outer defences erected by Sesusri II. I may here mention also some of the other traces of this reign which have come down to us. The base of a figure, and a cylinder-seal, both inscribed with the king's name, have been found at Tell el-Yehudiyeh, "The Jew's Mount," a place some 20 miles north-east of Cairo, on the direct route to the "Land of Goshen," the Wady Tumilât, and the Egypto-Syrian frontier (Petrie, *Hyksos and Israelite Cities*, i). Petrie



is probably right in thinking that this place is to be identified with Avaris (page 182), the fortified camp of the Hyksos invaders; and it seems to have been founded in the reign of Amenemhet III, and may have been from the start an Asiatic settlement, where, possibly, Joseph's relations took up their residence. At Memphis this Pharaoh enlarged the temple of Ptah, and an immense lintel of a doorway, inscribed with his name, lies near the northern gate (Petrie, *Tarkhan*, I, lxxvii), while a fine statue of the king from the same site is now in the Berlin Museum (No. 1121). A fragment from this reign was found in the temple of Eheninsi (Heracleopolis), giving the king's Hawk-name (Petrie, *Ehmasya*, xiv). A statue and a statuette representing him were found at Karnak (Legrain, *Cat. Cairo Mus.*, 42014, 42019); and another statue was discovered in the old Hawk-capital of Nekhen (Hieraconpolis), amidst the ruins of the temple (*Recueil*, X, 139). Various small objects of this reign are to be seen in different museums, including jewellery, scarabs, cylinder-seals, plaques, statuettes, etc.

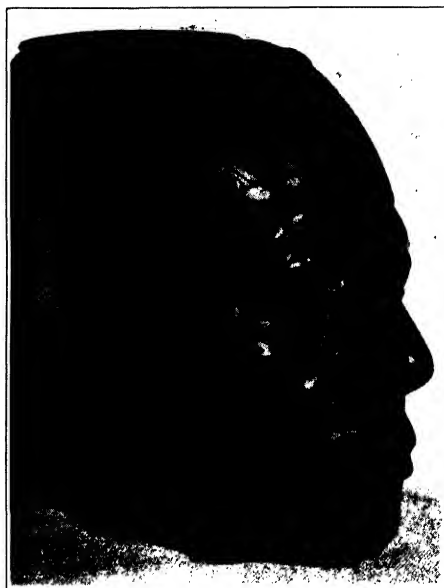
From Abydos comes a large stela (Piehl, *Inscriptions*, III, iv-vii) upon which the virtues of a certain nobleman of this reign, named Sehotpeibre, are recorded. He is stated to have been "hereditary prince, wearer of the royal seal, overseer of horn, hoof, and feather (i.e. the royal livestock), and overseer of the two pleasure-marshes (i.e. the royal fishing and fowling preserves)." He is described as one "whose arrival (at the palace) is heeded by the court, and to whom people tell their affairs; whose fine qualities the Lord of the Two Lands observes, and whom he has promoted." He is "possessed of silver and gold, rich in precious stones, a man of truth, a witness truthful as Thoth (the god of wisdom), master of the secret things in the temples, chief of all works in the king's palace, more accurate than the weights and similar to the balances, excellent in counsel, speaking that which is good, repeating that which is liked, good at listening, excellent in speaking, a prince who unravels the knotty problem, free from doing deceit, sweetening misfortune, doing things on good principle," and so forth. Then, saying that he has composed a poem of advice for the benefit of his children, he writes: "Now I will speak of great matters: I

will cause you to hear and to know the eternal method, the true method of life, (the method of) passing one's life in peace. Adore the king in your innermost person, enthrone his Majesty in your hearts, for he is (as) a god of wisdom in the heart and his eyes search every body. He is the Sun, by whose rays there is sight. He lights up the Two Lands more than the disk of the sun. He makes the Two Lands green more than (does) a high Nile. He has filled the Two Lands with vigour. He is life, cooling to the nostrils. . . . The bounty which he gives is sustenance for those who are in his following, and he feeds those who walk in his ways; (for) the king is food (indeed), and his word (means) increase. It is he who creates that which is; he is (as) the god Khnum (the creator) of all limbs, the begetter who causes the people to exist; and he is (as) the goddess Bast, protecting the Two Lands. He who loves him shall (escape) his arm, (but) he is (as) Sekhmet (goddess of destruction) towards him who disobeys his command; (yet) he is gentle towards him who (obeys?). Fight, then, for his name, purify yourselves by oath (of loyalty) to him, and you shall be free from care; (for) the beloved of the king shall be blessed. But there is no tomb for one hostile to his Majesty, and his carcass shall be thrown to the waters. Do this (that I tell you) and your limbs shall be sound, and you shall be glorious for ever."

The deep respect in which this Pharaoh was held is clearly shown in these words; and his influence seems to have extended into the neighbouring countries, for in the ruins of Byblos, the ancient city on the Syrian coast, a tomb has been discovered in which Egyptian ornaments and vases were buried, and here there were two little obsidian toilet-vases, bearing the name of Amenemhet III inlaid in gold upon the lids (*Académie des Inscriptions, Comptes Rendus*, May-June, 1922). They must have been the treasured possessions of some Asiatic prince of that city, and perhaps were sent to him as a present by the Pharaoh. At Boston there is a stela found by Dr. Reisner which, in a rather muddled inscription, seems to record "Year 31" (the "1" is misplaced) of Amenemhet III, and refers to his Jubilees. From this it would seem that his first appointment to office was reckoned as dating from the beginning of his co-regency with Sesusri III,

and thus in his 31st year, a period of 30 years had been completed, and his jubilee was celebrated. The stela commemorates a certain *oheti*, or warrior, named Senenkh. Something of the king's character can be read in the faces of an extraordinary series of portrait statues which have come down to us (Weigall, *Ancient Egyptian Works of Art*, 95-103). There is, first of all, a fine statue from Hawâra now in the Cairo Museum, which shows him as he was when a young man ; and a little obsidian head, now in the collection of Oscar Raphael in London, represents him a few years later, when his mouth and chin had begun to take on a certain firmness and obstinacy, and his eyes were more thoughtful. Then, belonging to the next period of his life, is a little head, carved in serpentine, now in Berlin ; and here the lids of his eyes have become heavier, and there is a care-worn look in his face. A head of a statuette at the Hermitage Museum in Petrograd is of about the same period ; and perhaps the superb portrait-sphinxes found at Tanis and now in the Cairo Museum, belong to these years of his life. Next we have the full-length statue in Berlin which shows him as a short, stocky man of stern aspect ; and the Karnak statue, now in Cairo, again shows him as somewhat short of stature, while his face is beginning to assume an expression of melancholy. This look of sorrow is still more marked in the beautiful little obsidian head which used to be in the Macgregor collection : the eyelids are heavy, deep lines are marked under the sorrowful eyes, the mouth is set, and the whole face is haggard and careworn. Finally, there is the colossal granite head found by Petrie and myself at Abydos, which shows the last stage, when the king was an old man, his eyes sunken in their sockets, and an expression of profound sadness upon his face.

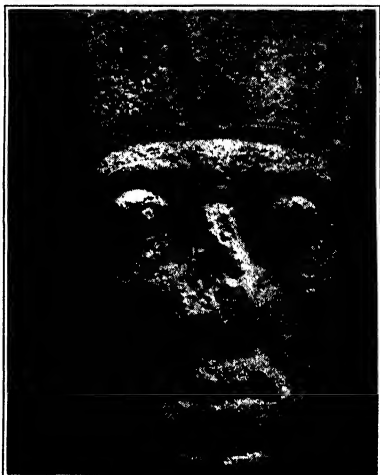
Two facts are made apparent by these statues. Firstly, it seems that he was sufficiently unconventional to insist on his artists representing him as he really was, and not as custom prescribed that a Pharaoh should look—serene, slightly smiling, and immoveable. In fact, he did what his ancestors, so far as we know, had never done : he allowed his subjects to see him as he really was—a haggard and gloomy man, without the trace of that calm and haughty smile upon his face which was supposed to be the token of royalty. And



HEAD OF AN OBSIDIAN STATUETTE PROBABLY REPRESENT-  
ING AMENEMHET III OF THE TWELFTH DYNASTY.  
Formerly in the MacGregor collection.  
*See page 132.*



ANOTHER VIEW OF THE OBSIDIAN HEAD.  
*See page 132.*



COLOSSAL GRANITE HEAD OF AMENEMHET III,  
FROM ABYDOS.  
*See page 132.*



secondly, it is apparent that he was served by an artist, or by artists, far greater than any who had lived before. The Macgregor head and the best of the Tanis sphinxes are works of the highest excellence, as great as any portraiture of any age in any land. There is a damaged statuette, now in Boston, which was found by Dr. Reisner at Kerma in the Sudan ; and enough of the face remains to indicate that it represented Amenemhet III, though one cannot speak with certainty.

According to the restored Turin Papyrus (page 36) he reigned 49 years, and died in what would have been his 50th year ; but the highest recorded date in the reign is that of his 46th year, mentioned in a papyrus from Kahun (Griffith, *Kahun*, xiv, 9). In the last year of his reign, according to my reconstruction, he seems to have associated his successor, Amenemhet IV, on the throne with him, for their names appear side by side (Prisse, *Monuments égyptiens*, 9) ; and we may assume that he was about 70 years of age when he did so.

DYN. XII, 7. AMENEME : MAEKHERURE AMENEMHET (IV)  
1910-1902 B.C.

The new Pharaoh may well have been the son of the late monarch, though there is nothing to prove it ; and in this case he was perhaps a man of middle age at his accession : at any rate he died, as will be seen, after a reign of only 9 years. As Reed- and Hornet-king he took the name Maekherure, " The Truth of the Voice of the Sun-god." As Hawking he was called Kheperkheperu, " The Being of Beings " ; but his names as Hawk of Nubi and Lord of the Vulture and the Cobra have not been preserved. As son of the Sun-god he was called by his personal name, Amenemhet.

During his reign the levels of the Nile continued to be studied, for there is a rock inscription at Kummeh (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 152) recording the height of the water in Year 5. In Sinai, both at Wady Maghâra and Serabit, work was continued vigorously at the mines ; and the years 4, 6, 8, and 9 are there recorded (Gardiner and Peet, *Sinai*, 33, 118-130). On the rocks of Shat er-Rigal, near Gebel Silsileh in Upper Egypt, a name which may be his is inscribed ; from Abusîr, near Memphis, comes a fragment of a sphinx of yellow quartzite

(*Recueil*, xii, 213); there is a plaque of green glazed schist, inscribed with his name, in the British Museum; and there is a charming little toilet-box of ebony and ivory inscribed with this king's name and that of the owner, Kemen, who was "Keeper of the Kitchen Department" (Carnarvon and Carter, *Five Years*, xlix). The mortuary tablet of a personage named Khuy, dated in this reign, is at Stuttgart (Spiegelberg, *Suddentsch. Sam.*, I, vii); and four scarabs are known. Some of the papyri from Kahun belong to the time of this king: the 6th year is definitely given, and other references ranging from Year 1 to Year 10 seem to belong to the reign (Griffith, *Kahun*, p. 86). It is not known with certainty where he was buried, but there are two ruined and unidentified pyramids at Mazghuneh, south of Dahshur, and as they seem to be constructed along the lines of the pyramid of Amenemhet III at Hawâra, they may have belonged to Amenemhet IV and his successor Sobknofru (Petrie, *History*, I, 206).

The Turin Papyrus states that he reigned 9 years, 3 months, and 27 days, which means that he died on the 28th day of the 4th month of what would have been the 10th year of his reign, corresponding to February 17th, 1901 B.C.

DYN. XII, 8. SKEMIOPHR (SOBKENOPHR?); SOBKNOFRU  
1901-1899 B.C.

Amenemhet IV died leaving no heir to the throne, and the nobles of the court decided to make the Princess Sobknofru their queen. According to Manetho she was his sister, and therefore probably the daughter of the great Amenemhet III. The name Sobknofru means "The Beauties of the god Sobk," he being the Crocodile god, patron deity of the Fayûm; and she kept this name as Reed- and Hornet-sovereign, sometimes, however, expanding it into Shedetsobknofrure, "Claiming the Beauties of Sobk and the Sun-god." As Hawk-sovereign she was called Merytre, "Beloved of the Sun-god"; as Lady of the Vulture and the Cobra her name was Sit-sekhem, "Daughter of Dominion"; as Hawk of Nubi she took the name Dedetkhe, "Enduring in her Ascension"; and as "Daughter of the Sun-god" she seems to have used

her own name, Sobknofru. Manetho calls her Skemiophr(is), of which the *Sk* seems to be a copyist's abbreviation for Sobk, and the *miophr* a miswriting for *nophr(u)*.

Only a few traces of her reign remain. One of the two pyramids at Mazghuneh, south of Dahshur, may be hers (Petrie, *Labyrinth*, 49). A stone sphinx found at Kha-taaneh, near Thoan (Tanis) in the Delta, has a half obliterated name upon it which may be hers (Naville, *Goshen*, 9 c.) ; architraves from the temple of Eheninsi (Heracleopolis) bear her name (*Annales*, xvii, 34) ; and a single scarab and cylinder-seal are known. But her name appears on a few fragments found at the Labyrinth at Hawara, and it is to be supposed that she erected or restored some shrine or temple there which happens to have been less completely destroyed by the ancient stone-robbers than were other parts of that series of buildings (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 140 ; Petrie *Hawara*, xxvii, 12 ; Petrie, *Kahun*, xi, 1).

The Turin Papyrus states that she held the throne 3 years, 10 months, and 24 days ; and as this means that her reign ended on the 25th day of the 11th month of her incompleted 4th year, she died or ceased to rule on September 12th, 1898 B.C. She had no male heir, and the dynasty therefore came to an end.



# CHAPTER IV

## THE THIRTEENTH, FOURTEENTH, AND FIFTEENTH DYNASTIES

1898-1678 B.C.

### THE CHRONOLOGY

**I**N the Turin Papyrus the sovereigns of the Twelfth Dynasty are followed by a long list of Pharaohs who seem to correspond to Manetho's Thirteenth Dynasty. This list is as follows:—

Fragment No. 72.	<p>Khetouire 1 + 2 years, 3 months, 24 days. Sekhemkere, 6 years. ... re ... emhet. Sehotpeibre. Iufni. Senkhibre. Smenkere. Sehotpeibre. Nothemibre.</p>	76-80. <i>contd.</i>	<p>Khesekhemre Neferhotpe. Sihathorre. Kheneferre Sobkhotpe (Here there is a break and possible loss of some names.)</p>	Fragments Nos. 87-88.	<p>.Merkheperre. ... ke ...</p>
	<p>(Here there is a break and loss of some names.)</p>	Fragment No. 81.	<p>Khehotpere. Wahibre Ieuib, 10 years, 8 months, 28 days. (Here a new paragraph begins.) Merneferre Ay, 23 years, 8 months, 18 days. Merhotpere Ini, 2 years, 2 months, 9 days. Senkhenre Se . . . tu, 3 years, 2 months. Mersekhemre Retho, 3 years, 1 month. Seuthkere Heri, 1 year. Mernothemre. 2 years.</p>	Fragments Nos. 93-95.	<p>(. . . besu. Nebmaetre Ibi. . . . ubenre. Merkeure Sobkhotpe Maetre Sobkhotpe.)</p>
Fragments Nos. 76-80.	<p>Nothemibre. Sobkhotpere. (Here a new paragraph begins.) Rensonb. Fuibre. Sethet . . . re. Sekhemkhetouire Sobkhotpe. User . . . re. . . . kere Mermeshoi. Hotpekere. Kesetre. Sekhemseuthouire Sobkhotpe.</p>		<p>(Here there is a break and possible loss of some names.)</p>	Fragment No. 97	<p>(Nehesire. Khethire. Nebfure. 1 year, 5 months, 15 days.)</p>
					<p>(Here the end of a dynasty or section is marked.)</p>

Monumental inscriptions, scarabs, and other records of many of these kings have come down to us; and thus this Thirteenth Dynasty presents an epoch which, in spite of the

usual statement to the contrary, is not at all obscure in its general structure. But one interesting fact at once becomes apparent when we begin to study the individual Pharaohs in this list, namely, that whereas the records and remains of these monarchs are both frequent and widespread in Upper and Lower Egypt down to the reign of Merneferre Ay, the successors of that king have left us very few traces of their reigns, and these only in Upper Egypt. Thus it becomes apparent that something happened during the reign of Merneferre Ay which destroyed the power of the dynasty, and restricted the activities of the remainder of its kings to the south country; and it is significant that the Turin Papyrus begins a new paragraph or section at this point. I shall show presently that this change in the standing of the dynasty was due to the conquest of the whole country by Oeusrrre Apopi, the first great Hyksos Pharaoh, which took place during the reign of Merneferre Ay, and that the remainder of the kings of the Thirteenth Dynasty were vassals of this Asiatic conqueror, and were confined to the south.

In the Turin Papyrus the above list of kings is followed by a second long list (page 175) which again forms a distinct group. Now this second list evidently contains the names of the kings of Manetho's Fourteenth Dynasty; but not a single trace of the reigns of any of the kings mentioned in this list has come down to us. In other words, the Fourteenth Dynasty is totally unknown to us outside this mere list of names in the Turin Papyrus and the brief mention of its existence in Manetho, who states that it reigned at Xoïs, a place not far from the sea in the north of the Delta. This fact, in itself, is sufficient to show that the Fourteenth Dynasty was contemporaneous with the Thirteenth, and occupied no separate epoch of its own in Egyptian history. Had it reigned alone, and had its kings been sovereigns of all Egypt, then assuredly some definite and certain trace of at least one of the names in this part of the Turin Papyrus would have been found at an important centre such as Thebes. But the absence of any such relics shows clearly enough that it did not rule in Upper Egypt, and, consequently, was contemporaneous with another line which did. Chronologically it may be ignored: it consists of just a list of names of kings whose rule was con-

fined to the northern and perhaps north-western Delta, and who never penetrated to any other part of Egypt, nor left any remains behind them except those which may be still hidden beneath the fields of Xoïs. I believe that, like the monarchs of the second half of the Thirteenth Dynasty, the Pharaohs of the second half of the Fourteenth Dynasty were vassals of the great Hyksos overlord Oeusrre Apopi and his successor; and both dynasties, the Thirteenth and the Fourteenth, seem to have come to an end at about the same time, both, I think, being suppressed at last by the Hyksos king Khyan, the successor of Apopi.

Next, we come to the question as to how long in actual years the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Dynasties continued their contemporaneous rule. In the different versions of Manetho the length of the Fourteenth Dynasty is given as 484, 184 and 134 years; and, in the absence of any more authentic information, I think we may accept the 134 as being the correct figure. For the Thirteenth Dynasty Manetho gives 453 years; and, on the above analogy, this 453 may be a copyist's error for 153, for the number of times that Manetho's copyists write "4" in mistake for "1" is remarkable. I shall assume, therefore, that the Thirteenth Dynasty held the throne for 153 years, and that for 134 years of this period the Fourteenth Dynasty was contemporaneous with it. The date of the establishment of the Thirteenth Dynasty is fixed at 1898 B.C. by the known date of the end of the Twelfth Dynasty (see page 31); and therefore it ended in 1745 B.C., 153 years later. And if the Fourteenth Dynasty ended at the same time, that dynasty was established in 1879 B.C., 134 years earlier.

Now, I have shown on pages 35 and 36 of the previous volume of this history, and shall again explain on page 176 of the present volume, that the date of the second great Hyksos Pharaoh, Khyan, is 1777 to 1728 B.C.; and thus, according to the above arrangement of the chronology, the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Dynasties, which ended in 1745 B.C., were both suppressed by Khyan in the 33rd year of his reign. Khyan was the fifth king of his line (the Fifteenth Dynasty); but his predecessor Apopi was the first of these foreign monarchs to impose his rule on the whole of Egypt,

the three Hyksos kings before him obviously having ruled only in the eastern Delta and as far south as Memphis, since no trace of them is found in other parts of Egypt, and we only have Manetho's word for it that they held Memphis. The problem, therefore, becomes very limited. We know the date of the accession of the Thirteenth Dynasty; we know the date of the chief king of the Fifteenth Dynasty; the Fourteenth Dynasty has been eliminated; and all that remains in question is the length of the Thirteenth Dynasty, and for this we have the above-mentioned 153 years as a probability.

Thus, the arrangement of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Dynasties seems to me to be as follows. The Thirteenth Dynasty established itself at the end of the Twelfth Dynasty in 1898 B.C., and for 20 years its Pharaohs were sole rulers of Egypt. But in 1879 B.C., taking advantage of the fact that at that time, as I shall presently show (page 144), several kings were all struggling together for the throne, a prince of Xoïs set himself up as a rival Pharaoh, and for the next 20 years or so the various kings of the Fourteenth Dynasty whose names are given in the Turin Papyrus ruled in the north and north-west of the Delta, while the kings of the Thirteenth Dynasty controlled the rest of the country. Then, about the year 1857 B.C., the first Hyksos ruler established himself in the eastern Delta; and for the next 45 years or so there were three kingdoms in Egypt—that of the Thirteenth Dynasty in Upper Egypt, extending as far north, perhaps, as the neighbourhood of Memphis; that of the Fourteenth Dynasty in the north and north-west of the Delta; and that of the Fifteenth Dynasty (the Hyksos) in the eastern Delta and extending southwards perhaps as far as Memphis. About 1812 B.C., however, Apopi, the reigning Hyksos king, made himself overlord of all Egypt, and from that time onwards for the next 65 years or so, the kings of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Dynasties were vassals of Apopi and his successor Khyan, the Thirteenth in the south and the Fourteenth in the north and north-west of Egypt, while these Hyksos kings of the Fifteenth Dynasty ruled from Memphis. Josephus, quoting Manetho, tells us that Memphis was the Hyksos capital, and that they "exacted tribute both from the upper and lower regions," and this

statement seems to confirm the existence of two contemporary lines of kings, one in Upper Egypt and one in Lower Egypt, who were made to pay tribute. At last, in 1745 B.C., Khyan decided to suppress these vassals, and for the rest of his reign he ruled Egypt alone.

Such is the general outline of the events of this period as I see it; and I must now attempt to support this arrangement of the material by putting forward certain important arguments. In the first place, in favour of my contention that the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Dynasties were contemporaneous, the similarity of some of the names in the two groups should be mentioned. For instance, Fuibre occurs in both dynasties, and Nebfure in the one is similar to Nebirifure in the other; Ubenre in the Fourteenth is paralleled by.... ubenre in the Thirteenth, and Smenkh....re by Smenkhkhere; while the names beginning with Sekhem, Mer, Men, and Khe are found in both dynasties. Each of these names may be said to represent a fashion in royal nomenclature, and hence the probability is that both instances of their use belong to the same period.

Next, it is to be noticed that the sculptor's art of the period of Khyan is at a very high level, and the base of his statue from Bubastis (page 186) shows that the tradition of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasties has been maintained. But this could hardly be expected to be the case if we had to believe that there was this whole Fourteenth Dynasty of obscure kings intervening between the Thirteenth Dynasty and the time of Khyan. If, however, the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Dynasties are contemporaneous, and Khyan is linked to the second half of the Thirteenth, we can see how the tradition came to be maintained unbroken into the reign of that king. It is only after the time of Khyan that the art goes to pieces, and remains ignoble until its revival in the Eighteenth Dynasty.

But of course the most important argument in favour of my arrangement is that the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Dynasties have got to be fitted into the period between the astronomically fixed date of the fall of the Twelfth Dynasty and the rise of the Seventeenth Dynasty which is known to have been contemporaneous with the Sixteenth

(page 204), and the date of which is fixed by the very authentic figure given by Manetho for its duration (page 191); and this can only be managed by supposing that the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Dynasties were ruling at the same time, and that at length the Fifteenth Dynasty kings also came upon the scene. The dating of the Twelfth Dynasty is fixed by the mention of the rising of Sirius (page 27), and by the seasonal references to events (page 28); and we cannot push that dating back, unless we push it back by a whole sothic cycle of some 1500 years (see Vol. I, p. 27), which, of course, is out of the question since there is nothing like enough material to fill up so vast a gap as that would create between the Twelfth and Seventeenth Dynasties, and, moreover, the Abydos and Sakkâra king-lists jump from the Twelfth to the Eighteenth Dynasties, as though the gap between were short and negligible. We are, therefore, compelled to allow no more than about a century and a half for the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Dynasties; and this, in itself, shows that they must have been contemporaneous. The critic may say that a tight squeeze results, but this is not the case: as will be seen in the table on page 224, all the great kings of the first half of the Thirteenth Dynasty find ample room in my arrangement; and it is reasonable to suppose that the kings of the second half of that dynasty, who were vassals of the great Hyksos overlords, represent different Upper Egyptian kingdoms, and that many of them were contemporaneous one with the other, Apopi and Khyan having probably fostered this division of Egypt into small vassal states, such as existed in their own Syrian fatherland (page 352). But even if they reigned one after the other, it is to be recalled that between A.D. 750 and 868 no less than 77 viceroys held the throne of Egypt—an average of about a year and a half apiece, and that between A.D. 193 and 283 there were 80 Roman emperors, who thus reigned little more than one year each.

We may now turn to the detailed account of the Pharaohs of the Thirteenth Dynasty. It is to be observed, by the way, that Manetho does not record the names of any of these kings; and therefore his reading of the royal name, which elsewhere in this history appears at the head of each reign, is never available here.

DYN. XIII, I. KHETOUIRE UGEF  
1898-1896 B.C.

Upon the death or deposition of Queen Sobknofru on September 12th, 1898 B.C., a personage named Ugef ascended the throne of the Pharaohs, but we do not now know who he was or whence he came, though Manetho states that the dynasty came from Thebes, which suggests that he was a prince of those parts. As Reed- and Hornet-king he assumed the name Khetouire, "The Sun-god, protecting the Two Lands"; as Lord of the Vulture and the Cobra he called himself Khebeu, "Crowned by the Ancestral Souls," a name based on that adopted by the great Amenemhet III as Hawk-king; as Hawk of Nubi he was called Mery...., "Beloved....," the last part of the name now being lost; but his name as Hawk-king has not been found. In the Turin Papyrus the numeral giving the number of years of his reign is damaged, but looks as though it has been 3, and it is followed by the fraction 3 months and 24 days, which shows that his death took place about February 13th, the year being probably 1895 B.C.

During this brief reign the Pharaoh seems to have strongly held the Egyptian frontier at Kerma at the Third Cataract, 200 miles beyond the frontier of Sesusri III; for the tomb of a nameless viceroy or governor of these regions has been found there, and in it a statue of this Pharaoh was discovered (Reisner, *Bulletin, Boston Mus.*, Dec., 1915). It will be recalled that the recapture of the Third Cataract was effected in the reign of Amenemhet III (page 126), although there is no record of the actual campaign. King Ugef also left a statue of himself at Semneh, at the Second Cataract (*Annales*, x, 106; now in the Khartoum Museum), and in the inscription on this statue he is called "Beloved of Dedun, Chieftain of Nubia," Dedun being the god of those regions. At Iebo (Elephantine), just below the First Cataract, a plaque bearing his name has been found (*Annales*, viii, 250), which is a further indication of his connection with the southern regions of his kingdom.

A fragment of an inscribed tablet bearing his names was discovered at Karnak, and the base of a statue of his was also unearthed there (*Annales*, vi, 130, 133); while his name appears in the "Karnak List"—the list of the royal ances-

tors set up in that temple by Thutmose III of the Eighteenth Dynasty. These traces of his reign at the great Theban temple perhaps indicate that Thebes was his capital; yet it can hardly be supposed that he altogether abandoned the vast Labyrinth at Hawâra as an administrative centre. Let us hope, however, that other relics of this reign will one day be found; for it must have been a period of luxurious civilization and great historic importance, following, as it did, so closely on the magnificence, the highly organized administration, and the mighty building and engineering works, of Amenemhet III, and being itself marked by the control of the region of the Third Cataract. (The modern confusion of this king with Sekhemkhetouire, the 17th king of this dynasty, is discussed on page 151.)

## DYN. XIII, 2. SEKHEMKERE

1895-1890 B.C.

The personal name of the next Pharaoh is not known, but the name which he assumed as Reed- and Hornet-king was Sekhemkere, "The Power of the Spirit of the Sun-god," while as Hawk-king he was called Senkhtoui, "Reviving the Two Lands," a name based on that of the last great king of the Eleventh Dynasty (Vol. I, p. 303), who had ruled Egypt over 200 years previously, and from whom the present Pharaoh may have claimed descent. The other names which he assumed have not been found.

Very little is known of his reign, which the Turin Papyrus states to have lasted 6 years. The most important relic is an inscribed and sculptured tablet found in the Delta on the site of the ancient city of Het-Thrib, the Athrib(is) of the Greeks, and modern Atrîb, and now in the British Museum (Budge, *History*, III, 87). This shows a figure of the Nile making offerings to the crowned Hawk-king; and the inscription, which gives the king's names, refers to a nobleman who seems to have been in the service of one of the royal princesses. From Thoan (Zoan or Tanis) also in the Delta, come two sockets of bronze inlaid with silver, and inscribed with the Hawk-name of this Pharaoh, and the names of his queen, Nebhotpede, and the princesses Hesut, Usheb, and Nebhotpede



(*Monuments Divers*, 103-4). At Shat er-Rigâl, in the far south of Upper Egypt, the king's Hawk-name is inscribed upon the cliff side (Petrie, *Season*, 466); and the name of his Prime Minister is cut on a rock at Aswân (de Morgan: *Cat. Mon. et Inscr.*, 26, 186), while a statuette of the same personage has been found (*Proceedings Soc. Bib. Arch.*, 1901, 222). A single scarab is the only other relic of the reign.

### DYN. XIII, 3-14. TWELVE EPHEMERAL PHARAOHS

1889-1878 B.C.

So little is known about the next ten Pharaohs in the Turin Papyrus (and the break in the papyrus suggests that a couple more names are here lost), that one must regard them as ephemeral; and I do not think that one would be justified in assigning to them more than a dozen of the 153 years of the dynasty. Herodotus (II, 147) has a story that the great Labyrinth was built by twelve kings who all ruled at the same time; but since he calls one of them Psammetichus, a Pharaoh who had reigned not very long before Herodotus' own time, and since the priests who were his guides when he visited the Labyrinth could hardly have been so ignorant as to suppose that their temple was of such recent date, we may perhaps assume that Herodotus mixed up two stories, one about Psammetichus, and the other about twelve kings who lived at, or near, the time of the Labyrinth's building; and thus it is possible that the origin of the story is to be traced to the memory of these twelve obscure Pharaohs with whom I am about to deal, and some of whom may well have made use of the Labyrinth as a centre of government, and may have built on to it. It is during this confused age that I believe the Fourteenth Dynasty was established in the northern Delta.

The following is the list of these Pharaohs:—

The third king in the Turin Papyrus list is . . . .re . . . .emhet. The latter name was probably Amenemhet; and the former is possibly the Senefer . . . .re which is found in the Karnak List and is otherwise unidentified, though one makes the identification only for the purpose of finding a place for this royal name. There are no remains of the reign.

The fourth king in the Turin Papyrus is Sehotpeibre, and

the full names of this Pharaoh are given upon an altar (*Annales*, V, 124) found in the Delta at Samanûd, the Greek Sebennût(os) and Egyptian Thebenuter. His personal and Son of the Sun-god name was Amenemhet; Sehotpeibre, "The Sun-god pacifying the Heart," was his name as Reed- and Hornet-king; as Hawk-king he was called Sehotpetoui, "Pacifying the Two Lands"; as Lord of the Vulture and Cobra his name was Sehotpeib, "Pacifying the Heart"; and as Hawk of Nubi he named himself Sma, "the Uniter." Nothing else belonging to this reign has been found.

The fifth king in the Turin Papyrus is Iufni, which looks like a personal or Son of the Sun-god name; and it is possible—though here one is merely guessing—that to him belongs the Reed- and Hornet-name Sekhemsenkhtouire, "The Sun-god, the Power reviving the Two Lands," written on a fragment of a tablet found at Gebeleyn, above Thebes (*Annales*, ix, 70, and *Sphinx*, xvii, 103). Nothing is known of this king, though the name Iufni as that of a prince has been found (*Proceedings Soc. Bib. Arch.*, 1903, 135).

The sixth king in the Turin Papyrus is Senkhibre, "The Sun-god reviving the heart," which is the Reed- and Hornet-name of a Pharaoh who has left a fine table of offerings at Karnak (Mariette, *Karnak*, ix, x). Here his full names are inscribed: as Son of the Sun-god he had the three names Ameny-Intef-Amenemhet; as Hawk-king he was called Sehertoui, "Contenting the Two Lands"; as Lord of the Vulture and the Cobra he took the name Sesechemkheu, "Causing dominion in his ascension"; and as Hawk of Nubi he was called Heqmaethet, "The Eternal Prince of Truth." As Senkhibre he appears in the Karnak List, but otherwise, apart from a single cylinder-seal and a scarab, nothing is known of him.

The seventh king in the Turin Papyrus is Smenkere, "Establishing the spirit of the Sun-god," but nothing whatsoever is known of him.

The eighth king in the Turin Papyrus is another Sehotpeibre, but no trace of him has been discovered, unless he is to be identified with [Se]hotpeibre Amusi-Hornetheryot, whose name has been found on a slab of stone at El Ataula, opposite Seut (Assiout) in Middle Egypt (*Annales*, iii, 80).

This king was evidently a Syrian, for the name Amusi occurred, it will be recalled, as that of the Syrian prince in the story of Sinuhe (page 65), and it means "Son of the Amu," the Amu being Asiatics. There is a cylinder-seal in the Carnarvon collection (*Journal*, Vol. VII, 196) which is inscribed with the name Pikin-îli, written in the Babylonian script of about this period, and also with the name of King Sehoteibre, written in Egyptian script; and this king may be the Sehoteibre with whom we are now dealing (although two other kings of that name are known). This would be in accord with his Syrian nationality.

The ninth king in the Turin Papyrus is Nothemkere, "The Sweetness of the Spirit of the Sun-god," of whom nothing is known.

There is here a break in the Turin Papyrus, and we may perhaps insert two royal names known from other sources. The first of these is the Reed- and Hornet-king Sekhemsmen-touire, "The Sun-god, the Power establishing the Two Lands," whose Son of the Sun-god name was Thuti, the former name occurring in the Karnak List, the two together on a door-jamb found at Ballas (Petrie, *Nagada and Ballas*, xliii, 4), and the latter on a canopic box (*Zeitschrift*, xxx, 45) which was afterwards used in the burial of a queen named Mentu-hotpe, daughter of the Prime Minister Sonbhenif (*Proceedings Soc. Bib. Arch.*, xiv, 41).

The second royal name which we may perhaps place in this gap in the Turin Papyrus is that of a King Amenemhet, whose name was found on a column in the Fayûm (*Recueil*, xi, 97), and whose Hawk-name Heribshedet distinguishes him from the other Amenemhets.

The next name in the Turin Papyrus after the break is Nothemibre, "The Sweetness of the Heart of the Sun-god," but no other mention of the name has been found.

Next, in the Turin Papyrus, comes Sobkhotpere, whose name has been found on a fragment from Dêr el-Bahri (Naville, *Eleventh Dynasty Temple*, II, x), and on four scarabs. Nothing else of his is known.

The next name in the Turin Papyrus is Rensoib, but no trace of his reign has been found. As, however, the Turin Papyrus begins a new section with this name, we may suppose



WOODEN STATUE OF THE SPIRIT, OR DOUBLE,  
OF KING FUIHRE OF THE THIRTEENTH DYN-  
ASTY, IN THE FORM OF THE YOUTHFUL  
HORUS, FROM DAHSHŪR.

*See page 147.*



GRANITE STATUE OF MERSEKHEMRE NEFER-  
HOTPE OF THE THIRTEENTH DYNASTY, FROM  
KARNAK.

*See page 168.*



that Rensonb was the one sovereign of these twelve who survived, and founded a new line.

## DYN. XIII, 15. FUIBRE HERWET

1877-1874 B.C.

The next king in the Turin Papyrus is FuiBRE, and of this Pharaoh important remains have been found, which show that more stable conditions had returned. His tomb was discovered by de Morgan at Dahshûr, the desert necropolis to the south of Memphis (de Morgan, *Dahchour*, 87). It was a rock-cut chamber leading from a pit which had been sunk at the south side of the pyramid of Amenemhet III and it is possible that it had originally belonged to one of the members of that king's family, for a sealing inscribed with the name Nemaere (the throne-name of Amenemhet III) was found in the tomb, which suggests that there had been an interment in it in that reign, but that the burial had been pillaged and scattered, the vault being then taken over by this later king. The coffin of FuiBRE Herwet was found to have been robbed in ancient times, and all the valuables had gone. Near the coffin was the box containing the canopic jars; and there were also an altar, a statuette, vases, sceptres, and other objects. But the tomb was remarkable for the presence in it of a beautiful life-size statue of a nude young man, carved in wood, and having inlaid eyes (Plate VI); and this had been placed in a handsome wooden shrine. Upon the head are the two arms which form the symbol of the *ka*, or spirit or astral body; and the long wig and plaited beard of a god are worn. The inscriptions around the shrine give the full names and titles of the king, but they omit his personal name Herwet, which occurs in other inscriptions found in the tomb, and call him instead simply Hor (the Hawk-god Horus), this divine name being written inside the royal cartouche. The explanation is that while this Pharaoh in the flesh was, according to the Pharaonic tradition, son of Re, the Sun-god, and as such was called Herwet, his spirit was deemed to be identical with the divine son of Osiris (Osiris being in the spirit world the counterpart of Re on earth), and as such, of course, had the name Horus. Now there are

plenty of statues known which represent the *ke* or spirit of a Pharaoh, but I think this is the only instance of such a figure being definitely represented and named as a god, and it certainly is the only case in which the name of the god is actually interchangeable with the name of the king in the royal titulary. This Pharaoh, in fact, seems personally to have made an exceptional claim to divinity; or else some new theological dogma was now being put forward with the object of reconciling the religion of the Sun-worshippers of On (Heliopolis) with that of the Osiris-worshippers of Ebod (Abydos) in their relation to the divine status of the Pharaoh. Such an adjustment of the one religion to the other is to be observed as early as the Fifth Dynasty in the theological inscriptions now known as the Pyramid texts; but never before, so far as we know, was a Pharaoh so definitely identified with a god as to call himself, or, rather, his *ke* or spirit, by the divine name written within the royal cartouche.

The full names of this Pharaoh, as given in the tomb, were these: As Reed- and Hornet-king he was called Fuihre, "The Gladness of the Heart of the Sun-god." (Fuihre, by the way, is the reading of the name now generally accepted; but a few years ago Egyptologists used to read it as Auihre or Autuihre or Ewibre.) As Hawk-king he was called Hotpeibtoui, "The Satisfaction of the Heart of the Two Lands." As Lord of the Vulture and the Cobra his name was Neferkheu, "The Good-one in his Ascensions," the word *kheu* meaning both the ascensions, or risings, of the sun and the ascensions, or crownings, of a king; and the word *nefer* meaning "good," "beautiful," or "fortunate." As Hawk of Nubi he was called Neferneteru, "The Good-one of the Gods." As Son of the Sun-god his name was Herwet, meaning "The Wayfarer," this being apparently his personal name, given to him, maybe, because he was born during a journey, or something of that sort. It is this name which, as recounted above, is interchanged with that of the god Horus.

Some scholars have thought that this Pharaoh was a son of Amenemhet III and that he died during his father's lifetime, the argument being based upon the facts that (i) the sealing of Amenemhet III was found in the tomb; (ii) there are some scarabs on which the signs *Fu-ib* are associated with

the signs *Khekere* (the name of Sesusri III) in such a way that the *re* comes in the middle and might serve twice, thus giving the two royal names Fuibre and Khekere; (iii) the tomb of Fuibre is close to the pyramid of Amenemhet III, and in line with the tombs of the daughters of that Pharaoh; and (iv) the hieroglyphical signs in the inscriptions are mutilated in the same way as those in the tomb of Amenemhet III at Hawâra (page 121). But, in answer to these arguments, it is to be said that (i and iii) the tomb, as I have mentioned above, may have been reused; (ii) the signs *Fu-ib* on the scarabs are more probably merely a good wish: "Gladness to the heart of Khekere," as on the Louvre stele of the 22nd king of this dynasty (page 153) where there is a prayer for *fu-ib*, "gladness to the heart" of the king, "together with his *Ke*, or spirit, upon the throne of Horus for ever"; and (iv) the custom of mutilating the hieroglyphs certainly survived for some years. Moreover, it is almost inconceivable that no mention of this king should occur in the Turin Papyrus, or in Manetho's list of Pharaohs of the Twelfth Dynasty if he had lived at that time; and the Turin Papyrus gives us the name Fuibre at this later date. And, again, the workmanship of the *Ke*-statue, while very beautiful, has not the vigour of the work of the time of Amenemhet III. Thus, I think there can be no doubt that this Pharaoh is to be assigned to the place I have here given him. The length of the reign is unknown, but since no monuments or remains other than the tomb have been found, it would seem that the Pharaoh died young; and I have therefore allowed him 4 years in the chronology of the dynasty.

DYN. XIII, 16 & 17. SETHEF....RE AND SEKHEMKHETOUIRE  
AMENEMHET SOBKHOTPE

1873-1869 B.C.

The incomplete name Sethef....re appears next in the Turin Papyrus, but no trace of this monarch has been found; and then comes Sekhemkhetouire Sobkhotpe, who is known from other sources to have borne also the name Amenemhet. His full titulary is as follows. Sekhemkhetouire, meaning "The Sun-god, the Power protecting the Two Lands," was



his name as Reed- and Hornet-king. As Hawk-king he was called Khebeu, "The Ascension of the Ancestral Souls." As Lord of the Vulture and the Cobra he took the name Dadnemenkhronpetu, "The Doubly-established, renewing life for years." As Hawk of Nubi he was called Khenptah, "Ascending (by favour) of Ptah," Ptah being the god of Memphis. As Son of the Sun-god he bore the grand old name Amenemhet, which he perhaps assumed, coupling it with Sobkhotpe which was probably his personal name, and which means "The god Sobk is propitiated," Sobk being the crocodile-god of the Labyrinth and the Fayûm. This name Sobkhotpe was borne by several later kings of this dynasty, but I refrain from numbering them and calling the Pharaoh Sobkhotpe I because the exact order of the others is not certain.

He seems to have ruled over the eastern Delta as well as over Upper Egypt and Nubia; for two door-lintels bearing his Reed- and Hornet-name, and also his Hawk-name, have been found at Tell Basta, the ancient Pebast and Greek Bubastis, the great city of the north-eastern Delta (Naville, *Bubastis*, xxxiii), thus showing that he built or restored one of the temples there; and at Semneh, at the Second Cataract, he continued the records of the Nile-levels which had been begun by Amenemhet III and carried on by Amenemhet IV, but had been allowed to lapse for the 34 years since that time, and these are dated in the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, and 4th years of his reign (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 151); while at Dêr el-Bahri, opposite Thebes, a block of stone bearing his names has been found (Naville, *Eleventh Dynasty Temple*, II, x) which shows that he carried out some work in the temple founded there in the Eleventh Dynasty; and at Kahûn, near the Fayûm, a papyrus has been discovered giving a list of the members of a large household, mentioning the 1st and 3rd years of this king, and referring to the previous census made in "Year 40" presumably of the reign of Amenemhet III, about 50 years earlier (Griffith, *Kahûn*, p. 26). Besides these relics of the reign, there are some cylinder-seals and scarabs bearing this king's name; and a cartouche, perhaps cut from a tomb, and giving the double name, Amenemhet-Sobkhotpe, which also occurs on one of the cylinders, has been found (*Proceedings Soc. Bib. Arch.*, 1903, 135). Possibly he is to be iden-

tified with a Pharaoh Sekhemkhetouire Pen. . . . then, who is mentioned on a tablet from Abydos (Petrie, *Abydos*, II, xxxi) together with his son Thutoe; but in this case he must have had three personal names, like the 6th king of this dynasty.

In modern times there has been some confusion between this king and Khetouire, the founder of the dynasty. At the beginning of the name Khetouire in the Turin Papyrus there is the trace of a break, and it used to be thought that the sign *Sekhem* had here been lost, thus making the name of this first king of the Thirteenth Dynasty similar to that of the Pharaoh with whom we are now dealing; and as a consequence of this supposition the records of the latter monarch were attributed to the former. Now, however, the finding of the statues of the founder of the dynasty (page 142), the inscriptions on which give his throne-name as Khetouire, without the *Sekhem*, and his personal name as Ugef, show that the Turin Papyrus is correct as it stands, and that the monuments of Sekhemkhetouire belong to this other king. Their distinct identity is further shown by the Karnak List, which gives Khetouire and Sekhemkhetouire as two separate kings.

As the records of the Nile levels at Semneh end abruptly at "Year 4," we may perhaps assume that the king died in the uncompleted 5th year of his reign.

DYN. XIII, 18 & 19. USER. . . .RE AND SMENKHKERE  
MERMESHOI  
1868-1866 B.C.

The next name in the Turin Papyrus is partly lost, but the signs which remain read User. . . .re. Not a trace of the reign has survived, and it may have lasted only a few months. Then follow the partly obliterated names . . . .kere Mermeshoi, and of this king two large granite statues were found at Thoan (Zoan or Tanis) in the north-eastern Delta (Petrie, *Tanis* I, iii). They are inscribed with this Pharaoh's Reed- and Hornet-name Smenkhkhere, "Adorning the spirit of the Sun-god," and his name as Son of the Sun-god, Mermeshoi. Now "Mermeshoi" is really to be translated "Commander of the Troops," or "General," as we should say, and is often found

as a title having that meaning ; and therefore this Pharaoh may have been a high military officer who had so long been known familiarly to the nation as " The General " that he adopted the title as a personal name when he took possession of the throne. But this word Mermeshoi was also the title of the High Priest of the city of Binebdeh (or Bin'ded, the Greek Mende(s), and modern Tell Mendid and El-Amdid), which was situated in the north-eastern Delta, not many miles from Tanis ; and thus the Pharaoh may have been a Mendesian High Priest who seized the throne. The inscription on the statues, however, calls the king " Beloved of Ptah," the god of Memphis, and hence it is possible that they were originally set up at Memphis and were later carried to Tanis by Rameses II of the Nineteenth Dynasty, who is known to have transported other statues to that city, which he was beautifying ; and, in that case, it is not so likely that the sacerdotal title was referred to. These statues are of excellent workmanship, and show that the art of the period was maintained at a high standard. Some 300 years later the Hyksos Pharaoh Apopi inscribed his name on the arms of these two figures (page 211).

Nothing else is known of this monarch, and I have therefore assigned him only a short reign of 3 years.

DYN. XIII, 20 & 21. HOTPEKERE AND KESETRE  
REN....SEUSR  
1865-1864 B.C.

The next two names in the Turin Papyrus are Hotpekere, " The Propitiation of the Spirit of the Sun-god," and Kesetre Ren....seusr, the former name meaning " The Sun-god, the Spirit of Set," Set being the god of Nubi, closely connected with Sobk, god of the Labyrinth. Nothing is known of these two Pharaohs, who seem to have been ephemeral.

DYN. XIII, 22. SEKHEMSEUTHTOUIRE SOBKHOTPE  
1863-1861 B.C.

The next name in the Turin Papyrus is Sekhemseuthtouire Sobkhotpe, a king who has left several relics of his reign. The first of these two names, which was that of the Pharaoh

in his capacity as Reed- and Hornet-king, means "The Sun-god, the Power making the Two Lands to flourish"; and the second, which he used as Son of the Sun-god, was probably his personal name. As Hawk-king he was called Khetoui, "Protecting the Two Lands"; but his other names have not been found. Although he was obviously an important Pharaoh, his name does not seem to have been recorded in the Karnak List, but it is possible that the name Sekhem-senefertouire which appears in that list, and which has not otherwise been identified, is a misreading of it, the sign *nefer* having been written by mistake instead of *uth*, a not unlikely error. A statue found at Pebast (Bubastis) in the Delta, and giving the name as Sekhemuthtouire (i.e. leaving out the causative *se*) is now in the British Museum (Budge, *Egyptian Sculpture*, xvi).

An inscribed tablet, now in the Louvre, which shows the engraving of hieroglyphs and figures to have been executed in this reign with a skill as great as that of the best period of the Twelfth Dynasty, gives us the names of a Royal Wife and two of the princesses (Prisse, *Monuments*, viii). One of these princesses is named "Iuhetibu, who is called Fend" (the word "*fend*," strange to say, means simply "nose"), and she is described as the daughter of the Royal Wife Inni; and the other princess, also a daughter of Inni, is named Anuket-dedet, "given by Anuket," Anuket (Anukis) being a goddess of the region of the First Cataract. As these two princesses seem to be the daughters of the Pharaoh with whom we are now concerned, whose names appear at the top of the tablet, it is to be supposed that Inni was one of his wives, though she does not seem to have been the actual queen, since her name is not written within a royal cartouche, although that of the elder daughter, Iuhetibu, is so written, she being the heiress. Another inscribed tablet, now in Vienna (*Recueil*, vii, 188) tells us that the parents of this Pharaoh were "The King's Father-in-law Mentuhotpe" (i.e. a noble whose daughter had married a previous Pharaoh), and "the royal Mother, Iuhetibu," evidently the wife of this Mentuhotpe. A prince named Sonb, who was the son of this same couple, and therefore brother of the Pharaoh, is also recorded on this tablet; and his children are also mentioned—two daughters named

Iuhetibu and Henut, and two sons named Sobkhotpe and Mentuhotpe, who were all cousins, therefore, of the Pharaoh.

This king evidently undertook some building operations at the temple of Luxor (Thebes), for an architrave, some columns, and a block of stone, bearing his name, have been found (Weill, *Fin du Moyen Empire*, 418; *Zeitschrift*, xxxiv, 122; Weigall, *Guide*, 70). In the neighbouring temple of Karnak, too, he must have carried out some work; for a granite block inscribed with his name has been discovered there (Mariette, *Karnak*, 8). North of Thebes, at Qebt (Koptos), a scarab of his was found; and south of Thebes, at Gebeleyn, the inscribed lintel of a door has come to light (*Recueil*, xx, 72). At Nekheb (El Kâb), a little farther to the south again, there is a tomb in the hill-side, made for a prince named Sobknakht who lived, it is there stated, under this Sekhemseuthtouire Sobkhotpe; but unfortunately the paintings which once covered the walls, and all but a line or two of the inscriptions, are destroyed.

The only other remains of this Pharaoh now known, with the exception of a few scarabs, are an amethyst bead, a little ball of gold, and the handle of an axe, all these being inscribed with the royal name, and being, I should think, the remains of a burial plundered in ancient days and rediscovered by natives in modern times. The Turin Papyrus tells us that he reigned 3 years.

DYN. XIII, 23 & 34. KHESEKHEMRE NEFERHOTPE AND  
SIHATHORRE  
1860-1850 B.C.

The king who succeeded, according to the Turin Papyrus, had the Reed- and Hornet-name Khesekhemre, "Ascending (or crowned) in the Power of the Sun-god," and the Son of the Sun-god name Neferhotpe, the latter being apparently his personal name. The word *sekhem* in the former name is written with the hieroglyph of a systrum, which, when it actually means a systrum, reads *seshesh*; but here it is evidently to be read *sekhem*, "power," or "dominion," a word usually written with the hieroglyph of a wand of office, but sometimes also with the systrum-sign: in the case of the 17th

king of this dynasty, for instance, we have this word *sekhem* written with either sign, the systrum or the wand (see Naville, *Eleventh Dynasty Temple*, II, x, B, for the one, and Naville, *Bubastis*, xxxiii, for the other). As Hawk-king his name was Gergtoui, "Founding, or making habitable, the Two Lands"; as Lord of the Vulture and the Cobra he was called Wepmaet, "The verdict or the opening up of the truth"; and as Hawk of Nubi his name was Menmertu, "Establishing that which is beloved."

This Pharaoh's parentage and family are known from three rock inscriptions, one at Aswân (Petrie, *Season*, 337), one at Sehêl (Mariette, *Mon. Div.* lxx, 3), and one at Shatt er-Rigâl (Petrie, *Season*, 479), and from various scarabs. His father was "The King's Father-in-law," Haenkhef, that is to say Haenkhef's daughter had been married to one of the previous Pharaohs, Neferhotpe thus having been brother-in-law of this Pharaoh, whoever he was. His mother was a lady named Keme; his wife, the mother of his children, was named Sensonb; and his eldest son was Sihathor, who was co-regent with him. There were three other sons—Sobkhotpe, Haenkhef, and Herhotpe—and three daughters—Keme, Neferhotpe (*sic*) and . . . .rnebdeb. King Neferhotpe had two brothers who afterwards came to the throne as Khenerferre Sobkhotpe and Menuthre.

In the second year of his reign the king caused a large inscribed stela (Mariette, *Abydos*, II, 28) to be erected at the side of the road leading to the temple of Osiris at Ebod (Abydos), and on it the following chronicle is recorded, headed by the date "Year 2," and the full titulary of the Pharaoh, who is described as "born of the royal mother Keme":—  
 "(When) his Majesty ascended the throne of the Hawk in the palace (called) 'Holder-of-Beauty,' (the royal palace probably near the Labyrinth or at Memphis), "he spoke to the nobles and peers of his suite and to the expert scribes of the writings and to the keepers of all the secret (books, saying:) 'My heart has desired to see the ancient writings of Atum'" (a form of the sun-god of On or Heliopolis); "'and (therefore) you are to begin for me a great investigation, so that the god (i.e. the king who is speaking) may know how he was created, and how the gods were fashioned, and (of what

the offerings and oblations to them (should consist) . . . and so that I may know the god (Osiris) in his (true) form, and may make (a statue of) him as he was of old, at the time when they (the gods) made the images (of themselves) at their (celestial) council for the purpose of establishing their monuments upon earth. (For) they have given to me the heritage of the Sun-god as far as the circuit of the sun (reaches) . . . and I will increase that which is assigned to me, and they (in return) shall increase their love for me, (even as I) act according to that which they command.' (To this) these peers replied: 'O King and Lord, whatever your spirit has ordered comes to pass; (and therefore) let your Majesty proceed to the libraries, and let your Majesty see every written word.' (So) his Majesty went to the library, and opened the books in the presence of these peers, and he found the archives of the Temple of Osiris Khenti of the Western Necropolis, Lord of Ebod (Abydos). (Then) his Majesty said to the peers: 'My Majesty greets my ancestor Osiris Khenti of the Western Necropolis, Lord of Abydos! I will make (a statue of) him, shaping his limbs, his face, and his hands, according to (the illustrations) which I have seen in these books, (and which represent) his form as Reed- and Hornet-king at the time of his coming forth from the womb of the (primæval) sky.' (Thereupon) his Majesty caused an officer who was in his suite to be called to him, and he said to him: 'You are to proceed southward, taking with you troops and sailors. Do not sleep by night nor by day until you arrive at Ebod; and (there) you are to cause (the body? or sepulchral effigy? of) Khenti of the Western Necropolis to be brought forth (from the tomb wherein it lies in the Necropolis), so that I may make his monuments as they were in the beginning.' (At this) the peers said 'Whatever you command comes to pass, O King and Lord; and you shall do all (you say) in Ebod for your ancestor, Khenti of the Western Necropolis.' This officer (then) betook himself southward (to do) that which his Majesty had commanded him; and he arrived at Ebod . . ." (where he caused the effigy of Khenti to be taken from its tomb. Then, after some days) "the Majesty of this god (i.e. the king) arrived, (and boarded) the sacred barge of (Osiris) Lord of Eternity, while the banks of the

river were flooded with his fragrance and with the perfumes of Pount," (that is to say, incense was burnt at the water's edge; and at length, sailing up the canal from the Nile to Ebod), "he arrived in the middle (of the city,) where a messenger came to inform him, saying 'This god (Khenti) has come forth in peace (from his tomb).' (Thereupon) his Majesty proceeded in the sacred barge . . . to the head of the canal . . ." (where the effigy of Khenti awaited him; and thence he went to the temple) . . . "together with this god, and (there) caused sacred offerings to be presented to this his ancestor, Khenti of the Western Necropolis, and myrrh and holy substances (were burnt) for Osiris Khenti of the Western Necropolis under all his appellations, and (he performed the traditional ceremony of) overthrowing those who were hostile to the sacred barge" (Vol. I, p. 111). "Then the majesty of this god appeared in procession, his cycle of gods united with him, while Wepwet (the jackal-god) was before him showing the way. Then his Majesty caused that this god (Khenti) should proceed to (his sanctuary), and that he should be placed to rest on the stand in the golden shrine" (for some weeks, while the craftsmen set to work) "to fashion the beauty of his Majesty (Khenti) and his cycle of gods, (and to make) his oblation-tables . . . of all the splendid and costly stones of the Land of God; and the King himself led the work on them (which was done in) gold, his Majesty (before so doing) being purified with the purity due to a god . . ."

The succeeding sentences are much damaged and cannot be translated, but when the work was done, it seems that the King addressed himself to the priests. "'Be vigilant,' (he said), 'in the temple, and look to these monuments which I have made. I have put a plan before you for all time, and by placing this example in your hearts I have sought (to do) that which should be right for the future, and which should take place (regularly) in this place which the god has made, because of my desire to establish my memorials in his temple and to perpetuate my ordinances in his house. His Majesty (Khenti) loves that which I have done for him, and he rejoices over that which I have ordered to be done, (for) triumph has (thus) been assured to him. I am (as) his son and his pro-



tector, and he (it is who) gives to me the inheritance of the earth, (so that) I am a King, great in power, excellent in (my) decrees. (Thus) he shall not live who is hostile to me; he shall not draw breath who rebels against me: his name shall not survive amongst the living, his spirit shall be seized in the presence of the authorities, he shall be cast out from before this god. (Such is the punishment which shall overtake) him who shall disregard the commands of my Majesty, and (all) those who shall not act according to this command of my Majesty, who shall not pray for me to this august god, who shall not honour that which I have done in respect of his offerings, and who shall not give thanks to me at every feast in this temple, (whether) he belong to (any section of) the priesthood of the sanctuary of this temple or to any (other) office in Ebod. For my Majesty has made these monuments for my ancestor Osiris Khenti of the Western Necropolis, Lord of Ebod, because I loved him so much more than all the gods, and in order that he might give me for this which I have done the reward of millions of years (of sovereignty). . . . "

Two years later, in the 4th year of his reign, the Pharaoh set up two boundary stones, one at either end of a certain area of the great desert necropolis behind the city of Ebod, in order to prevent all public access to this part of the cemetery, which, for some reason, the priests wished to reserve for the service of the jackal-god Wepwet. One of these two tablets has survived (Mace, *El Amrah*, xxix), and upon it, after the name of the king and the date, is written: "My Majesty decrees that this cemetery south of Ebod shall be protected and reserved for my father Wepwet, Lord of Tathoser" (the name of the cemetery), "as the god Horus did for his father Osiris, not permitting any persons to set foot in this cemetery. (These) two tablets are (therefore) set up at its south and north end, engraved with the great name of my Majesty. . . . As for him whom any one shall find within (the area marked by) these tablets, (even) if he be a craftsman or a priest at his business, he shall be branded; and as for any official who shall have a tomb made for himself within this cemetery, he shall be reported, and the law shall be executed upon him, and upon the custodian of the necropolis, as from this day. But as for any extension of this cemetery into

the area in which the people make tombs for themselves, there shall they (be allowed to) be buried."

The Turin Papyrus tells us that this Pharaoh reigned 11 years. Now an inscribed block of stone found at Karnak (Mariette, *Karnak*, 8) gives the names of Neferhotpe and his successor Kheneferre Sobkhotpe side by side, which indicates that the latter was co-regent with the former; but between these two kings the Turin Papyrus places Sihathor, in whom, by removing the royal appellation *re*, "The Sun-god," we can identify that Sihathor who was the son of Neferhotpe (page 155). Thus it seems certain that Neferhotpe associated his son on the throne with him, but that he died before his father. This Sihathor, of whom there is no other trace, had a son named Sobkhotpe, whose name is given on a scarab as "The King's son Sobkhotpe, born of the King's son Sihathor" (Petrie, *History*, I, 223); and this wording shows that Prince Sobkhotpe was a grown man, having his own seal and status, before his father Prince Sihathor had been raised to the joint throne by Neferhotpe. But in the Twelfth Dynasty we have seen (page 105 etc.), that these co-regencies generally began when the elder king was about 70 years of age; and therefore we may assume, perhaps, that Neferhotpe, who was not of direct royal descent, was a man of about 60 when he seized the throne, and at that time his son, Sihathor, was 40 or more, and his grandson, Sobkhotpe, was 20 or more, as his scarab indicates. Then, in about the 10th year of his reign, when he was 70, he associated Sihathor, then 50, on the throne with him, but, a short time later, both Sihathor and his 30-year-old son Sobkhotpe died; and the old Pharaoh selected, or was compelled by some intrigue to select, his younger brother Kheneferre Sobkhotpe as co-regent.

An important point is here to be observed, that from this time onwards no trace of the rule of any Pharaoh of this dynasty has been discovered in the Delta; and thus it would seem that Lower Egypt was entirely lost some time during the reign of Neferhotpe. But it does not seem to have been conquered by the Pharaohs of the Fourteenth Dynasty who were reigning at Xoïs in the northern Delta, for neither have any of their names been found. As I shall explain on page 166, I think that the loss of those regions of the Delta which

were not already in the hands of the Fourteenth Dynasty was due to an Asiatic invasion which took place in the year 1857 B.C. (corresponding to the 4th year of Neferhotpe, according to my reckoning). A great horde of Semitic tribesmen seems to have poured into the eastern Delta along the Wady Tumilât, and to have established its headquarters at Tell el-Yehudiyeh, on the edge of the eastern desert, some 30 miles north of Memphis, where Petrie found a great fortified camp of this period. Here these Asiatics, who were known to later historians as the Fifteenth Dynasty, and were called Hyksos, or "Shepherds," raised their leader Saite(s) or Salati(s) to the throne, giving him the names and titles of a Pharaoh; and from this capital they ruled the whole of the eastern Delta, including such cities as Thoan (Zoan or Tanis), Bin'ded (Mendes), Pebast (Bubastis), and Het-T'hrib (Athribis), having on their north and west the Kingdom of the Fourteenth Dynasty, and on their south that of the Thirteenth Dynasty. I will deal with this subject in more detail on page 179; but for the present it is only necessary to remember that henceforth the Pharaohs of the Thirteenth Dynasty with whom we are concerned in this chapter were confined to Upper Egypt, and must have held Memphis and Heliopolis at the apex of the Delta only with difficulty.

Neferhotpe has left us a statuette of himself now in the Bologna Museum (Petrie, *History*, I, 221; and Naville, *Recueil*, I, 109), in the inscription on which he is called "Beloved of the god Sobk of Shedet (Crocodylopolis, near the Labyrinth in the Fayûm) and of Horus in On (Heliopolis)," thus indicating that it came from one of those two places. The face has a soft and youthful appearance not very consistent with the age of the Pharaoh mentioned above; but this may be due either to the sculptor's attempt at idealization, or to this figure being that of the King's *he* or spirit, like the statue of Fuihre (page 147), where the eternally youthful Horus, with whom the royal spirit was identified, is represented. In the temple of Karnak a naos or shrine has been discovered (Borchardt: *Cat. Cairo Mus.* 42022), in which are two figures of the king, perhaps representing himself and his *he* or spirit. His rule extended certainly as far as the Second Cataract, for a plaque bearing his name has been found

at Buhen (Wady Halfa) (MacIver and Woolley: *Buhen*, pl. 74). At the First Cataract, besides the inscriptions already mentioned, there is one giving his name on the island of Konosso, near Philae. A few objects—a model sceptre, a vase, a bead, a cylinder-seal, some scarabs, etc.—are also known.

DYN. XIII, 25. KHENEFERRE SOBKHOTPE

1849-1841 B.C.

As has been said, the new Pharaoh was a younger brother of the late King Neferhotpe (see scarab, Petrie, *History*, I, Fig. 129), and had been associated on the throne with him in about the last year of his reign, after the death of Sihathor and his son (page 159); and therefore he was probably a man of advanced years when he was crowned, the likelihood of which is increased by the fact that he appointed a co-regent. We do not know how long he reigned, but I have allowed him a round 10 years in my chronology of the dynasty, because the number of remains he has left is about that of the remains left by Neferhotpe who is known to have reigned 11 years. As Reed- and Hornet-king he assumed the name Kheneferre, "The Sun-god Ascending in Beauty"; as Hawk-king he was called Enkhibtoui, "Living in the Heart of the Two Lands"; as Lord of the Vulture and the Cobra his name was Uthkhen, "Abundant in Ascensions"; and as Son of the Sun-god he used his name Sobkhotpe.

If we may judge by the fact that he carried out considerable work at Karnak and Luxor, it is likely that he had made Thebes his capital, deeming it safer to reside here in the south than to remain in the neighbourhood of the Labyrinth or at Memphis, which was too close to the territory of the Hyksos Pharaoh to be comfortable. There are only a few traces of his rule at the north end of Upper Egypt. Parts of two sphinxes were found at Etepehe (the Greek Aphroditopolis and modern Atfieh), on the east bank of the Nile opposite the Fayûm (Petrie, *History*, I, 224), where there may have been a royal residence, since that region was dedicated to Hathor, and the late Pharaoh's son was called Sihathor, or "Son of Hathor." A red-granite statue, the face of which is evidently that of an elderly man, is dedicated to the god Ptah of Mem-

phis, and probably stood in the temple of that city, but was removed to Thoan (Tanis), where it was found, in the reign of Rameses II (Petrie, *Tanis*, I, iii, 16). But, with the exception of a scarab found at Lisht, on the western side of the Nile between the Fayûm and Memphis (Gauthier and Jequier, *Lisht*, 106), there are no other remains of this reign in this part of the country, all the rest being in the south.

At Ebod (Abydos) he built a great gateway of black granite to the temple (Petrie, *Abydos*, I, lix, and II, xxviii); and a small tablet showing a King Sobkhotpe, without any second name, standing before the god Min, may belong to this reign. At Tontorer (Denderéh) an inscribed vase of blue marble has been found (*Annales*, ix, 107, where I have made an attempt to reconstruct its curious shape). At Luxor there are traces of a temple built by him. (So my notebook of some years ago, when I was living at Luxor, but this needs confirmation.) At Karnak he set up a colossal statue (*Annales*, II, 270), and other smaller statues (Mariette, *Karnak*, 8; and *Annales*, 1921, 63); the ruins of a gateway have been found (*Annales*, iv, 26); an inscribed block (Mariette, *Karnak*, 8) is evidence of further building; and he restored a figure there of the second Mentuhotpe of the Eleventh Dynasty. At Tâd (the ancient Therut, and classical Taphium) on the east bank of the Nile south of Luxor, he seems to have adorned the temple, for a statue of him, now in the Louvre, is dedicated to the deity of that city (de Rougé, *Mons. du Louvre*, 15).

A few small objects of this reign have also survived, including a vase-stand, a blue glazed cup, and an ebony box (*Proceedings Soc. Bib. Arch.*, 1901, 220; 1903, 134, 358). There are also many scarabs of the reign.

On the island of Arko at the Third Cataract a statue has been found, inscribed with this Pharaoh's names (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 120; but see Breasted, *History*, 212). It is made of grey granite which appears to have been quarried in the island of Tombos, not far from Arko. This figure serves to show that the southern frontier of Egypt at the Third Cataract, established by Sesusri I, but lost by the later Pharaohs of the Twelfth Dynasty and re-established by Amenemhet III or by the founder of the Thirteenth Dynasty, was maintained by this present Pharaoh Kheneferre Sobkhotpe.

This monarch is recorded in the Karnak List under the name Kheneferre. In the Turin Papyrus his name, following those of the kings already recorded, occurs before a break at what appears to be the bottom of a column; but, as Petrie has observed, two names must have been lost here, for there is a scarab in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford giving two cartouches side by side, one of Kheenkhe Sobkhotpe and one of Kheneferenkhe Sobkhotpe, and the latter is probably to be identified with Kheneferre Sobkhotpe, the Pharaoh with whom we are now dealing, the sign *enkh*, "living," having been added for some reason. The occurrence of these two names on this scarab suggests that Kheenkhe Sobkhotpe, who may have been Kheneferre's son, was associated on the throne with him for a short time. Then there is another Pharaoh Menuthre who is stated to have been a son of the "King's Father-in-Law, Haenkhef"; and as this Haenkhef was the father of Neferhotpe (page 155), Menuthre was a brother of Neferhotpe and of Kheneferre Sobkhotpe, and therefore must be placed at this position in the dynasty.

The wife of Kheneferre Sobkhotpe is mentioned on the ebony box referred to above: her name was Then or Thaen; and a daughter of hers, named Nebton, "Lady of Heliopolis," is also known (Newberry in *Proceedings Soc. Bib. Arch.*, 1905, 102).

DYN. XIII, 26, 27, & 28. KHEENKHRE SOBKHOTPE,  
MENUTHRE, AND NEFERENKHRE

1840-1836 B.C.

The Pharaoh Kheenkhe Sobkhotpe, who, as stated above, seems next to have ruled, had been associated on the throne by his old father (?) Kheneferre Sobkhotpe, probably in the last year of his reign. His full names are as follows. As Reed- and Hornet-king he was called Khenkhre, "Ascending as the living Sun-god"; as Hawk-king he was named Smatoui, "Uniting the Two Lands"; as Lord of the Vulture and the Cobra he took the name Dedkheu, "Doubly Established in his Ascensions"; as Hawk of Nubi he was called Keuneteru, "The Spirits of the Gods"; and as Son of the Sun-god, he was named Sobkhotpe. Though his name is lost from the Turin Papyrus, as mentioned above, he is recorded in the

Karnak List. His queen seems to have been the lady Nubemhet, and a daughter named Sobkemheb is also mentioned (Petrie, *Koptos*, xii).

He carried out some work at the temple of Abydos, of which traces have been found (Rosellini, *Mon. Storici*, text III, i, 14). There is a statue of him in the Louvre (Maspero, *Dawn*, 529); the pedestal of a figure (*Proceedings Soc. Bib. Arch.*, 1903, 136); and an altar, now at Leyden (Boeser, *Aeg. Sammlung, Leyden*, III, 7), on which his full titulary is given. These are the only remains which he has left, and the reign was evidently short. I have therefore allowed 5 years for it, including one year of co-regency with his predecessor.

He seems to have been followed on the throne by a king whose Reed- and Hornet-name was Menuthre, "Establishing the prosperity of the Sun-god," but whose other names are unknown. The only relic of this reign is a cylinder-seal at University College, London, on which he is described as "born of the King's Father-in-law, Haenkhef," thus showing that he was a third brother of King Neferhotpe, and therefore uncle to the last Pharaoh. He must have been quite an old man at his accession, and his reign may have lasted only a short time.

Another Pharaoh who may perhaps be placed here is Neferenkhre, of whom some fine scarabs are known; but his position in the dynasty is quite uncertain, and as he has left no other trace of his existence his reign perhaps only lasted a few months.

DYN. XIII, 29 & 30. KHEHOTPERE SOBKHOTPE AND  
WAHIBRE IEUIB  
1835-1821 B.C.

The new column of the Turin Papyrus begins with the next king, Khehotpere, "Ascending as the Satisfaction of the Sun-god," this being the Reed- and Hornet-name, while as Son of the Sun-god his name was again Sobkhotpe. Like his predecessors he did some work at the temple of Abydos, of which traces have been found (Rosellini, *Mon. Storici*, III, 14); but otherwise nothing is known of him, with the exception of his bare name in the Karnak List, and a few scarabs. I have allowed him a reign of 5 years in my chronology of the dynasty.


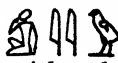


The next name in the Turin Papyrus is that of the Reed-and Hornet-king Wahibre, "The Abundance of the Heart of the Sun-god," whose name as Sun of the Sun-god was Ieuib, which means "Appeasing," or, literally, "Washing the heart." He is mentioned on a private tombstone (Budge, *Guide to Sculpture*, 279); on a cylinder-seal (Petrie, *Historical Scarabs*, 323); probably in a damaged inscription on a blue-glazed cup from Kahun (Petrie, *Kahun*, x, 72); on a sealing from Lisht (Gauthier and Jequier, *Lisht*, Fig. 133); and on a scarab (Petrie, *History*, I, Fig. 132): but he has left no large monuments or remains. The Turin Papyrus states that he held the throne for 10 years, 8 months, and 28 days; that is to say, his reign ended on the 29th day of the 9th month of his 11th year, which, in 1820 B.C., or thereabouts, would correspond to our June 30th, which, again, was the date of the rising of Sirius in that year (*Petrie-Knobel Tables*). Thus, it may be that the next Pharaoh was proclaimed on this important and propitious day, which was a sort of national holiday, and that Wahibre Ieuib was deposed; but of course it is to be remembered that the exact dates B.C. of these reigns are rather speculative, and I may be a few years out.

#### DYN. XIII, 31. MERNEFERRE AY

1820-1798 B.C.

At the time when this new Pharaoh proclaimed himself, the Fifteenth Dynasty King of the Asiatics who were settled in the eastern half of the Delta was a certain Yapakhai (Manetho's Apachnas, page 183); and, since he was posing as a Pharaoh, he had taken the throne-name Merusre, "The Beloved and Mighty-one of the Sun-god." This Semitic monarch was the third of his line, and, according to my system of chronology, it would seem that he had already occupied the foreign throne at Tell el-Yehudiyeh, north of Memphis, for about seven years when the Egyptian Pharaoh with whom we are now dealing claimed the crown in Upper Egypt. Since this Asiatic Pharaoh of the Fifteenth Dynasty was called Merusre, the new Thirteenth Dynasty Pharaoh decided to form his name as Reed-and Hornet-king along the same pattern, and so called himself Merneferre, "The Beloved and Beautiful-one of the Sun-god,"



substituting *nefer*, "Beautiful," for his rival's *usr*, "Mighty." His name as Son of the Sun-god was written , which, on the face of it, seems to read Ay; but, as I shall presently show, this is perhaps the king whom Josephus calls Timaios) or Toutimai(os), and there is a word  *Demaiu*, meaning "The Proclaimed," which might either be a later misreading of the original name,  being mistaken for , or might just possibly be its real reading, since it would have been an appropriate name for a Pharaoh who seems to have proclaimed himself on the day of the proclaiming of the rising of Sirius. The Timaios(s) of Josephus, as will be seen on page 175, is capable of another identification; and this guess at the origin of the name is not of practical use, since it lacks any real support. The other names of this Pharaoh have not been found.

According to the Turin Papyrus, this Pharaoh, who comes next on the list after Wahibre Ieuib, reigned 23 years, 8 months, and 18 days; and, according to my reckoning, it was in about the 8th year of his reign that the Hyksos Pharaoh Yapakhai died and was succeeded by Oesrre Apopi, the first great king of the Fifteenth Dynasty. This Asiatic monarch was not content to rule merely over the eastern half of the Delta, and he seems to have made successful war both on the king of the Fourteenth Dynasty in the northern and western Delta, and on the king of the Thirteenth Dynasty with whom we are now concerned. At any rate, we now find this Apopi ruling as Pharaoh and overlord of all Egypt; and henceforth we find the Pharaohs of the Thirteenth Dynasty stripped of their power. In the Turin Papyrus it is significant, too, that with the name of this Merneferre Ay a new paragraph begins. From this time onwards not one of them has left a trace of his rule north of the Fayûm, and what little building or other work they carried out was confined within the limits of Upper Egypt, south of Memphis. Josephus, quoting Manetho, tells us that the Hyksos Pharaohs of the Fifteenth Dynasty held Memphis, and "exact tribute both from the upper and lower regions"; and in this statement I think we are to see this conquest of the whole country by Apopi, whereby

he was able to establish himself at Memphis, and to convert the Fourteenth Dynasty in the north and the Thirteenth Dynasty in the south into two vassal kingdoms paying him tribute, the northern frontier of the latter kingdom being fixed at some point between Memphis and the Fayûm, though such a frontier was hardly of much importance since Apopi really ruled the whole country.

Part of a gateway at the temple of Karnak bears the name of Merneferre Ay, but this perhaps dates from the beginning of his reign, before he was reduced to the impotence of a mere vassal. No other traces of this Pharaoh are known, with the exception of some scarabs; but these are important by reason of the places from which they come. One was found at Koptos (Petrie, *Koptos*, xxiv, 3); another at Abydos (*Monuments Divers*, 480); and a third at Lisht (Gauthier and Jequier, *Lisht*, Fig. 135); these places all being within the bounds of the Upper Egyptian kingdom. But two have been found in the Delta—one at Pebast, the classical Bubastis (Newberry, *Cat. Cairo Mus.* 36022), and the other at Tell el-Yehudiyeh (Petrie, *Hyksos and Israelite Cities*, ix, 116); and from these one might argue that this Pharaoh was recognized at those places, and therefore that the Hyksos dynasty was not in control there. On the other hand, the presence of these scarabs in those two Delta cities might be accounted for by supposing that this Pharaoh at the beginning of his reign made successful war against the Hyksos and captured those cities, the war thus begun resulting finally in the defeat of the Egyptians and the conversion of the Thirteenth Dynasty into a vassal line; or, again, the scarabs, being simply official seals, may have come there in connection with the tribute exacted by the Hyksos king—a very likely explanation.

At any rate, the sudden collapse of the power of the Thirteenth Dynasty at this point, when taken together with the chronological and other considerations outlined on pages 136 ff, makes a very convincing argument that henceforth its Pharaohs were vassals of the Hyksos. From the death of Merneferre to the end of the dynasty I have allowed just over 50 years; and since Manetho states that the dynasty consisted of 60 kings, and there are just 29 more names known of Pharaohs who seem to belong to this period, the damaged

Turin Papyrus probably contained all these 29, as follows, thus making the total 60.

### THE SECOND HALF OF THE THIRTEENTH DYNASTY

1797-1746 B.C.

32. The next king in the Turin Papyrus has the names Merhotpere, "The Beloved-one contenting the Sun-god," and Ini. He is mentioned in the Karnak List; on a tablet found at Abydos (Lange and Schäfer, *Cat. Cairo Mus.*, 20044); and on a scarab in the Louvre (Petrie, *History*, I, Fig. 138.) Perhaps he is the same as the Merhotpere Sobkhotpe, of whom a statue was found at Karnak (Legrain, *Cat. Cairo Mus.* 42027). The Turin Papyrus states that he reigned 2 years, 2 months, and 9 days (1797-1796 B.C.), that is to say he died on the 10th day of the 3rd month of the year, which at that time would be about November 26th.

33. The next king in the Turin Papyrus is Senkhenre Se...tu, who is there stated to have reigned 3 years and 2 months (1795-1793 B.C.), that is to say he died in the third month, which at that time corresponded to December.

34. Then comes a king whose Throne-name is Mersekhemre, "The Beloved-one of the Dominion of the Sun-god," and whose other name is Int. He is probably to be identified with the Mersekhemre Neferhotpe, of whom two black granite statues were found at Karnak (Legrain, *Cat. Cairo Mus.* 42023-4); for we have seen, in the case of the 6th king of this dynasty, how a Pharaoh sometimes had two or three personal names. He is recorded in the Karnak List, and the Turin Papyrus states that he reigned 3 years and 1 month (1792-1790 B.C.), which places his death in about November. A rough little stela, showing a King Neferhotpe worshipping the god Min, probably belongs to this reign: it was found at Abydos (Lange and Schäfer, *Cat. Cairo Mus.* 20601).

35. The next king in the Turin Papyrus is Seuthkere Heri, the former name meaning "Causing the Spirit of the Sun-god to flourish." Possibly he is to be identified with the ...keure recorded in the Karnak List. The Turin Papyrus says that he reigned 1 year (1789 B.C.), plus a fraction now lost; but nothing else is known of him.

36. Then the Turin Papyrus gives a king whose name was Mernothemre, "The Beloved-one, the sweetness of the Sun-god," and states that he reigned 2 years and a fraction now obliterated (1788-1787 B.C.).

After this name there is a break in the papyrus, and as many as seven or eight names may be lost. We can therefore insert here some of those known from other sources.

37. There is a Pharaoh Seuthkheure recorded in the Karnak List who may perhaps be placed here, though nothing else is known of him.

38. A king whose Reed- and Hornet-name was Sesekhemkere, "Making Powerful the Spirit of the Sun-god," and whose Son of the Sun-god name was Amenemhetsonbf, is known from a cylinder-seal said to have come from the neighbourhood of Gebeleyn, south of Luxor (*Proceedings Soc. Bib. Arch.*, xxi, 282), and from a scarab.

39. The Reed- and Hornet-king Sekhemwahkere, son of the Sun-god Rehotpe, are the names of a Pharaoh of whom a broken stela was found at Koptos (Petrie, *Koptos*, 12), and who is mentioned on a private tombstone now in the British Museum (Budge, *Guide to Sculpture*, 283), and of whom there are some scarabs. As Hawk-king his name was Wahrenkh, "Abundant in Life"; as Lord of the Vulture and the Cobra he was called Usrronpetu, "Mighty of Years," and as Hawk of Nubi his name was Utho, "Flourishing." A story dating from the Twentieth Dynasty, some 600 years after this time, tells how a mummy comes to life and says, "When I lived on earth I was a Treasurer of King Rehotpe, and I died in the 14th year of King Menhotpere.

40. This King Menhotpere, mentioned in the above story, is not otherwise known, but he may have been a real personage.

41. A broken statue of a King Merenkhe Mentuhotpe was found at Karnak (Legrain, *Cat. Cairo Mus.* 42021), and the style of the first name is that of this part of the dynasty. This Pharaoh's queen Shertset and his son Hornefer are also known (*Proceedings Soc. Bib. Arch.*, xiv, 41).

42. The names Seutheure Mentuhotpe belong to a king of about this time, mentioned on an inscribed block found at Dér el-Bahri (Navelle, *Eleventh Dynasty Temple*, I, xii, i).

43. A king named Sewahenre Sonbmui is mentioned on

another block discovered at Dêr el-Bahri (Naville, *Eleventh Dynasty Temple*, II, x); and the name occurs at El Kab (*Proceedings Soc. Bib. Arch.*, xv, 494).

44. There is a King Seneferibre Sesusri who may be placed here. His statue, of rather rough but vigorous workmanship, was found at Karnak (Legrain, *Cat. Cairo Mus.* 42026); and on it his name as Lord of the Vulture and Cobra, Senkhtoui, and his name as Hawk of Nubi, Neferkhen, are also given. A fragment of a stela was also found at Karnak (*Recueil*, xxx, 15); and his throne-name is recorded in the Karnak List.

45. After this break in the Turin Papyrus the next name is Merkheperre, "The Beloved-one existing in the Sun-god"; and of him an oblong weight is known (Petrie, *History*, I, 241).

46. Then comes a nearly obliterated name, ....ke...., which is perhaps the same as the Khekere found on scarabs of this period (Petrie, *History*, I, 241), and recorded in the Karnak List.

47. This name is obliterated in the Turin Papyrus. Possibly the Seseurtouire of the Karnak List might belong here.

48. This name, again, is obliterated in the Turin Papyrus, but there is a King Seuthenre recorded in the Karnak List, who may possibly be placed here. A dagger bearing this name was found at Hou, between Abydos and Denderh (Petrie, *Diospolis Parva*, xxxii, 17); and several scarabs are known.

49. The next name in the Turin Papyrus ends with ....besu. This seems to be the personal name, and it is possible that the Throne-name was Sebeqikere, a king for whom a place needs to be found at about this period. A cylinder-seal from Kahun bears this name (Petrie, *Illahun*, viii, 36); and two other seals and a scarab are also known.

50. The next king in the Turin Papyrus is Nebmaetre Ibi, the former meaning "Lord of the Truth of the Sun-god." There is a little steatite lion so inscribed (Petrie, *Scarabs and Cylinders*, 13, 41), and a scarab or two.

51. The next name in the list is ....ubenre, but nothing is known of him.

52. Then comes Merkeure Sobkhotpe, the former name meaning "Beloved of the Spirits of the Sun-god." This occurs also in the Karnak List; and a statue of him has been

found at Karnak (Mariette, *Karnak*, viii, 1) on which mention is made of his sons Bebi and Sobkhotpe.

53. The Turin Papyrus then gives Maetre Sobkhotpe, who may perhaps be the Sobkhotpe mentioned on the statue of the previous king. An artist's trial-piece records the throne-name (*Recueil*, xxxvi, 37); and several scarabs give both names.

54. Then comes a break in the Turin Papyrus, and about four names seem to have been lost. We may here perhaps place Nemaetenkhe Khenther (or Khenzer), the first name meaning "Belonging to, or having, the Right of the Ascension of the Sun-god," and the second having a noticeable similarity to the Babylonian name Ukinzir, rendered in Greek as Khinzar(os), thus suggesting that he was a foreigner. Two interesting inscriptions of this reign, now in the Louvre, were found at Abydos (Sharpe, *Egy. Inscriptions*, II, 24; Breasted, *Records*, I, §781; Louvre, C. 11 and 12). They were both made by a high sacerdotal official named Amenysonb; and the first one reads as follows. "The son of the Prime Minister came to call for me by order of the Prime Minister; so I went with him and found the Prime Minister Enkhu in his hall, and this official laid upon me a command, saying, 'It is commanded that you clean this temple of Ebod (Abydos), for which purpose workmen shall be given to you, together with the lay-priests of the district who are attached to the Storehouse of the Offerings.' Therefore I cleaned both the lower and the upper story (of the temple), and both sides of its walls, the painters filling (the reliefs and inscriptions) with colour, inlay (?), and paste, restoring that which King Kheperkere (Sesusrî I) had made. Then came the Keeper of the Sacred Tree to resume his office in the temple, while the deputy of the Chief Treasurer accompanied him; and he thanked me very greatly, and said, 'How favoured is he who has done this for his god!' And he paid me with supplies (to the value) of 10 *debens* (of gold?) together with dates and half an ox. Then the Chief of . . . came down-stream (from Thebes), and the work was inspected, and there was very great pleasure at it."

The second inscription gives the names of the King, and then says, "It was commanded to communicate (the following royal message) to Amenysonb, saying, 'These works which

you have carried out have been inspected, and the King thanks you, and his spirit thanks you. May you spend a happy old age in this temple of your god.' And it was commanded to give me the hind quarters of an ox, and it was commanded to communicate (an order) to me, saying, ' You shall conduct every inspection which takes place in this temple.' I did (my work) according to all that was commanded : I caused every shrine of every god who is in this temple to be restored, their altars repaired with cedar-wood, and (I repaired) the great altar which was in the presence (of the god). (Thus) I carried out my desire, so that it pleased my god, and the King thanked me."

The Prime Minister Enkhu, who is mentioned in the above inscription, has left other traces of his existence. His statue was found by Legrain at Karnak ; two stelæ of his are known ; and he is referred to in a papyrus (Breasted, *Records*, I, note *d*, page 342). Some scarabs of the King are known.

55. A second King Khenther (or Khenzer), with the throne-name Usrkere, is recorded on a scarab (Fraser, *Scarabs*, 65) ; and he is perhaps to be placed here.

56. A tablet found at Abydos (Mariette, *Abydos*, ii, 27) gives the name of a King Menkheure Seshib, the former name meaning " Establishing the Ascensions of the Sun-god " ; and perhaps he is to be placed here in the list.

57. A papyrus of the Twentieth Dynasty, dealing with the robbery of early tombs, mentions the tombstone of a King named Sekhemibtouire (*Zeitschrift*, xiv, 3), and possibly he is to be placed in this part of the list.

58. The next name in the Turin Papyrus is Nehesire, and with this a new column begins, but not a new section. A scarab of this king is known.

59. The next king in the list is Khethire, though the syllable *thi* is uncertain. Nothing is known of him.

60. Next comes Nebfure, whose reign is given as 1 year, 5 months, and 15 days, and with him the Turin Papyrus marks the end of the dynasty. Nothing is known of him ; but the above fraction of the year (1745 B.C.) shows that he died or was deposed on about March 30th. This, according to my reckoning, was the 32nd year of the reign of the Hyksos Pharaoh Khyan, and, as I shall explain in the next chapter, it was he who suppressed this vassal dynasty.

THE FULL LIST OF THE PHARAOKS OF THE THIRTEENTH DYNASTY

Thus the Turin Papyrus list may be restored in the following manner, so that it contains exactly the 60 kings mentioned by Manetho, which, seemingly, is also the exact number of Pharaohs of this period whose names have come down to us from all sources.

Of course the order of the inserted names is only experimental, but the important point is that room can be found for all the known kings of this period, and there is no need to say, as do some Egyptologists, that only certain "legitimate" kings were recorded, while others were not recognized. It looks as though the list had once recorded every single monarch of the dynasty, however obscure he was.

- |   |                                   |
|---|-----------------------------------|
| 1. Khetouire Ugef.                      | 30. Wahibre Ieub.                 |
| 2. Sekhemkere. ....                     | 31. Merneferre Ay.                |
| 3. ....re Amenemhet.                    | 32. Merhotpere Ini Sobkhotpe.     |
| 4. Sehotpeibre Amenemhet.               | 33. Senkhenre Se. ....tu.         |
| 5. .... Iufni.                          | 34. Mersekhemre Int Neferhotpe.   |
| 6. Senkhibre Amený Intef Amenemhet.     | 35. Seuthkere Heri.               |
| 7. Smerkere. ....                       | 36. Mernothemre. ....             |
| 8. Sehotpeibre. ....                    | 37. Seuthkheure. ....             |
| 9. Nothemkere. ....                     | 38. Seseckhemkere Amenemhetsonbf. |
| 10. Sekhemsmementouire Thuti.           | 39. Sekhemwahkere Rehotpe.        |
| 11. .... Amenemhet.                     | 40. Menhotpere.                   |
| 12. Nothemibre. ....                    | 41. Merenkhre Mentuhotpe.         |
| 13. Sobkhotpere.                        | 42. Seuthenre Mentuhotpe.         |
| 14. .... Rensonb.                       | 43. Sewahenre Sonbmiu.            |
| 15. Fuiibre Herwet.                     | 44. Seneferibre Sesusri.          |
| 16. Sethef. ....re. ....                | 45. Merkheperre. ....             |
| 17. Sekhemkhetouire Amenemhet Sobkhotpe | 46. Khekere. ....                 |
| 18. User. ....re. ....                  | 47. Seseusrtouire. ....           |
| 19. Smerkhhkere Mermeshoi.              | 48. Seuthenre. ....               |
| 20. Hotpekere. ....                     | 49. ....besu.                     |
| 21. Kesetre Ren. ....seusr.             | 50. Nebmaetre Ibi.                |
| 22. Sekhemseuthtouire Sobkhotpe.        | 51. ....ubenre.                   |
| 23. Kheseckhemre Neferhotpe.            | 52. Merkeure Sobkhotpe.           |
| 24. Sihathorre.                         | 53. Maetre Sobkhotpe.             |
| 25. Kheneferre Sobkhotpe.               | 54. Nemaetenkhe Khenzer.          |
| 26. Kheenkhre Sobkhotpe.                | 55. Usrkere Khenzer.              |
| 27. Menuthre. ....                      | 56. Menkheure Seshib.             |
| 28. Neferenkhre. ....                   | 57. Sekhemibtouire. ....          |
| 29. Khehotpere Sobkhotpe.               | 58. Nehesire.                     |
|   | 59. Khethire. ....                |
|   | 60. Nebfure. ....                 |

It is to be noticed that amongst the 29 kings from the 32nd to the 60th in this list, at least 13 are mere names, and the total reigns of the five whose length of reign is recorded in



the Turin Papyrus is only 10 years, giving an average of 2 years apiece. The contrast, thus, is very striking between the first half of the dynasty—when the country seems to have been prosperous and the arts and crafts were maintained at a high level—and the second half, which consists of short-reigned little kings as ephemeral as the late Roman emperors; and one can clearly see the destruction of the *moral* of the people caused by Apopi's conquest.

#### THE FOURTEENTH DYNASTY

Having followed the course of the Thirteenth Dynasty down to its suppression on March 30, 1745 B.C., let us now turn to the Fourteenth Dynasty, which, as will be remembered (page 144), seems to have been established at Xoïs in the northern Delta in 1879 B.C. This city was called in ancient times Khsoo or Skhōou, whence the Greek Xo(is), and was situated about a dozen miles east of the sacred city of Buto, the earliest capital of Lower Egypt, and not far from the marshes which led down to the sea. Here, at first, one is to suppose that a strong line of Pharaohs ruled for some years, all trace of them now being lost beneath the fields, there being no desert to preserve their memorials in its dry sand as there is in Upper Egypt; but on the arrival of the Hyksos invaders, one must suppose the same thing happened to this Fourteenth Dynasty as had happened to the Thirteenth—that is to say law and order went to pieces, and a large number of petty Pharaohs held the throne in turn for brief periods, there being, no doubt, as many as three or four ruling at the same time from centres such as Xoïs, Sae (Sais), and Damanhûr (Hermopolis Parva). Manetho says that 76 kings are to be grouped under the general heading of the Fourteenth Dynasty, and it is quite possible that the Turin Papyrus in its original form recorded this number. All that remains now of this list is the following collection of names; but, owing to the number of fragments into which the papyrus is here broken, the order after the first 28 is very uncertain. With the name of the first king, Sehebre, the Turin Papyrus marks the beginning of a new section.

Fragment No. 97 (continued from page 136).	1. Sehebre. 3 years.	29. ....	(An unknown number of names lost.)	Fragment No. 150.	(Here there is a break.)
	2. Merthefere. 3 years.	30. ....			60. Iu....
	3. Sonbkere. 1 year.	31. ....			61. Set....
	4. Hrunebthefere. 1 year.	32. ....			62. S au....
	5. Ubenre.	33. ....			63. Her....
	6. .... (one name lost).	34. ....			(Here there is a break.)
	7. .... (one name lost).	35. ....		Fragment No. 152.	64. Inib....
	8. .... thefere.	36. ....			65. Smerensobk...
	9. Ubenre.	37. ....			66. Pennsetintsept...
	10. Fuiibre.	38. ....			(Here there is a break.)
	11. Heribre.	39. Sekhem....re.			67. .... (An unknown number of names lost.)
	12. Nebseure.	40. Sekhem....re.			68. ....
Fragment No. 101.	(Here there is a break.)	41. Sekhem....re.	(Here there is a break.)	Fragment No. 108.	69. ....
	13. .... (Three or four names lost.)	42. Sese....re.			70. ....
	14. ....	43. Nebirifure.			71. Seb....re.
	15. ....	44. Nebirifure.			72. Men....re.
	16. ....	45. Smen....re.			73. ...wahre.
	17. Sekhepureure.	46. Seusr....re.			(Here there is a break.)
	18. Dedkherure.	(Here there is a break.)		Fragment No. 122.	74. ....ke. . . .
	19. Senkhkere.	47. Sekhemshedetef ....wasre.			75. .... (Two names lost.)
	20. Thetumre.	48. .... (one name lost).			76. ....
	21. Sekhem....re.	(Here there is a break.)			(After this comes ....kere Sanati : see page 179.)
	22. Ke....re.	49. ....			
	23. Neferibre.	50. ....			
	24. A....re.	51. ....			
	25. Khe....re.	52. ....			
	26. Enkhkere.	53. ....			
	27. Smen....re.	54. ....			
	28. Mer....re.	55. ....			
	(Here there is a break.)	56. ....	(An unknown number of names lost.)		
		57. ....			
		58. ....			
		59. ....			

It is to be observed that the 20th name, Thetumre, may be the Toutimaïos of Manetho (page 184) under whom the Hyksos first invaded Egypt. Not a trace of a single king in this long list has been found; and as their rule covered the same period as the main part of the Thirteenth Dynasty, this empty list of names is of no value to us, nor does it affect the chronological sequence of events. We can therefore pass on at once to a study of the Fifteenth Dynasty.

### THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE FIFTEENTH DYNASTY

The establishment of the Eighteenth Dynasty is a date which is pretty closely fixed to 1576 B.C. by evidence recorded on page 34 of the previous volume of this history, and on page 236 of the present volume. The Seventeenth Dynasty (which is known to have been contemporaneous with the Sixteenth, page 210) lasted 151 years, according to Manetho, and was

therefore established in 1727 B.C. This Seventeenth Dynasty was a line of native Egyptian kings ruling in Upper Egypt ; and the most likely time for its establishment would obviously have been that of the death of the great Khyan, the Hyksos Pharaoh who had suppressed the vassal Thirteenth and Fourteenth Dynasties, for he was succeeded by an unimportant king, Ashshi, Manetho's Assi(s), who seems to have lost Upper Egypt, since his remains are not found outside the Delta. Therefore, we may make the guess that Khyan died in 1727 B.C. ; and the correctness of this guess seems to be shown by the interesting little fact which I have already explained in the previous volume (page 34). A papyrus, dated in the 11th year apparently of Khyan, shows that in that year the five epagomenal days with which the calendar year ended had been missed out, so that the festivals belonging to those days had to be celebrated on the first days of the first month of the year, i.e. just after New Year's Day, instead of on the last days of the previous year, i.e. just before New Year's Day. Now we know that at about this time a month was added to the calendar year in order to adjust it to its correct season, for in the Eighteenth Dynasty and onwards the year began with the month Thoth which in the Twelfth Dynasty and previously had been the second month of the year. To account for, and to ascertain the date of, this one month's postponement of the intercalary days, we must find out in what year B.C. the ancient Egyptian calendar (which, having no leap-year's day, lost one day in every four years) needed adjustment by exactly one month, owing to the fact that the epagomenal days, which ought to have fallen (Vol. I, p. 58) between October 15th-16th and 20th-21st, were falling between September 15th-16th and 20th-21st ; and reference to the Petrie-Knobel Tables shows us that the calendar year had thus dropped behind the actual seasons by one month in about 1767 B.C., as near as one can calculate. In other words, Khyan arranged that the epagomenal days should be left out in that year, that the last day of the last month of the calendar year should be followed immediately by the 1st day of the 1st month, and that when this month had expired the epagomenal days should be introduced, after which another 1st day of the 1st month should follow. Thus, by postponing

the epagomenal days and having the 1st month twice, he made the 2nd month of the calendar into the 1st, and for the time being brought the calendar into accord with the seasons again. Therefore, this reference to the changed place of the epagomenal days in the 11th year of Khyan seems to be able to be dated to 1767 B.C.; and since Khyan reigned 50 years, he must have died, according to this piece of evidence, in 1727 B.C., which, as we have just seen, is the exact date of the foundation of the Seventeenth Dynasty, 151 years, as Manetho says, before the establishment of the Eighteenth Dynasty. This, I think, pretty well fixes Khyan's reign to 1777-1728 B.C. (and a fraction of 1727 B.C.), and gives us a firm starting-point from which to date the whole Fifteenth Dynasty.

In his book *Contra Apion*, Josephus quotes Manetho as saying that the first king of this Dynasty was Salatis, who reigned 19 years, being followed next by Bnon who reigned 44 years, then by Apachnas, 36 years and 7 months, then by Apophis, 61 years, next by Ionias (Khyan), 50 years and 1 month, and finally by Assis, 49 years and 2 months. Other versions of Manetho give the dynasty as:—Saites (Salatis), 19 years; Bnon, 40 years; Archles (Apachnas), 14 or 30 years; and Apophis, 14 or 30 years. Putting these versions together we get:—Salatis, 19 years; Bnon, 40 or 44 years; Apachnas, 36 years and 7 months, or 30 or 14 years; Apophis, 61, 30, or 14 years; Ionias, 50 years and 1 month; and Assis, 49 years and 2 months. Now we know from the Rhind Papyrus that Apophis reigned as long as, or more than, 33 years; for the document is dated in Year 33; and therefore we may assign to him the 36 years and 7 months which must have been given in error to Apachnas. To Apachnas we may assign, tentatively, the 14 years, which would place his accession at 1827 B.C. The figure 61 may have had its origin in the sum of the three reigns—36, 14, and 11 years.

Now, we have seen (page 159) that in or about the reign of Kheseckhemre Neferhotpe (1860-1850 B.C.) the Thirteenth Dynasty lost the Delta, and hence that the Hyksos Fifteenth Dynasty was established there at somewhere about that time; and therefore we have to fit Salatis and Bnon, who preceded Apachnas, into some period between 1860 and 1827 B.C. The 19 years for Salatis seems well assured, and therefore it is the

reign of Bnon which has to be adjusted; and here I may perhaps venture to give 11 years in place of Manetho's 44, since the figures 1 and 4 are sometimes confused in the versions of his history, as in his figures for the length of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Dynasties, and his figure 44 for the 11 years' reign of Rathures (Vol. I, p. 63), etc. This would place the accession of Bnon at 1838 B.C., and that of Salatis at 1857 B.C., which is just where we expect it, that is to say in the reign of Kheseckhemre Neferhotpe, when the Thirteenth Dynasty kings cease to appear in the Delta.

There is one fact which, though not too much confidence must be placed in it, helps to confirm this rather speculative dating. On page 321 of Volume I I have shown that 1346 B.C. is the probable date of the Exodus, and I hope I shall be able to prove this when we reach that epoch. Now Josephus in his *Contra Apion* quotes Manetho as saying that the Hyksos, or Asiatics, were in Egypt for 511 years, and he makes it clear that he regards the Exodus as the end of their residence in Egypt. Now 1857 B.C., which is the date I have just given for the accession of Salatis, the first Hyksos king, is exactly 511 years before 1346 B.C., the date of the Exodus.

Thus, we can date the kings of the Fifteenth Dynasty as follows:—

1. Salatis, 19 years.	1857-1839 B.C.
2. Bnon, 11 years.	1838-1828 B.C.
3. Apachnas, 14 years.	1827-1814 B.C.
4. Apophis, 36 years, 7 months.	1813-1778 B.C.
5. Ionias, 50 years, 1 month.	1777-1728 B.C.
6. Assis, 49 years, 2 months.	1727-1679 B.C.

Now, it seems to me to be certain that these Hyksos Pharaohs were listed in the Turin Papyrus. The end of the papyrus is broken up and lost, but the style of the script indicates that it was written in the Seventeenth Dynasty, and very possibly it carried the list of kings down to about the reign of Nubkheperure Intefoe of that dynasty, about 1650 B.C. (page 199). Thus one would expect the Hyksos kings of the Fifteenth Dynasty to be listed in it; and in the unplaced fragments now numbered 122, 123, and 112, I think we can unquestionably identify at least one of the Hyksos names. These fragments are as follows:—

Fragments Nos. 122 and 123	{	.....ke.....
		.....
		.....kere Sanati.
		.....kere Bebum.
		.....re.....
Fragment No. 112	{	.....nub.....
		..... Apopi(?)
		.....
		.....
		.....

The first three names are probably to be assigned to the end of the Fourteenth Dynasty, and I have placed them there on page 175. Then comes a name which may well be that of Salatis: I will discuss the point on page 183. Next follows a name which assuredly is that of Bnon (page 183). Perhaps the next name was that of Apachnas. The names of Apophis, Ionias, and Assis may have followed on a now lost fragment; after which we probably have two of the Sixteenth Dynasty kings, one having a name compounded with the word *nub* (page 205), and the other probably being one of the later kings of the name of Apopi.

Let us now study these Hyksos Pharaohs one by one.

DYN. XV, I. SALATI OR SAITE: . . . KERE SANATI  
1857-1839 B.C.

Manetho's account of the arrival of these Asiatic invaders (Josephus: *Contra Apion*) is as follows:—"We had formerly a king whose name was Timaïos (or Toutimaïos). In his time it came to pass, I know not why, that God was displeased with us; and there came up from the East in a strange manner men of an ignoble race, who had the hardihood to invade our country, and easily subdued it by their power without a battle. And when they had our rulers in their hands, they burnt our cities and demolished the temples of the gods, and inflicted every kind of barbarity upon the inhabitants, killing some and reducing the wives and children of others to a state of slavery. At length they made one of themselves king, whose name was Salatis: he lived at Memphis, and rendered both the upper and lower regions of Egypt tributary, and stationed garrisons in places which were best adapted for that purpose. But he directed his attention principally to the security of the

eastern frontier ; for he regarded with suspicion the increasing power of the Assyrians, who, he foresaw, would one day undertake an invasion of the kingdom. And, observing in the Saite province, upon the east of the Bubastite Canal, a city which from some ancient theological reference was called Avaris, and finding it admirably suited to his purpose, he rebuilt it and strongly fortified it with walls, and garrisoned it with a force of 250,000 men completely armed. To this city Salatis repaired in summer to collect his tribute and pay his troops, and to exercise his soldiers in order to strike terror into foreigners. And Salatis died after a reign of 19 years. . . ."

As will be seen presently, Manetho seems to have confused the conquest of the eastern Delta by Salati(s) with the conquest of the whole of Egypt by Apophi(s), who was the fourth king of the dynasty and came to the throne some 45 years later ; and thus the Egyptian Pharaoh Timaio(s) or Toutimaio(s) was more probably the contemporary of Apophi(s) than of Salati(s), and will be discussed here under that reign (page 184). Salati(s), I think, never imposed his rule on all Egypt. He only invaded and held the eastern Delta, and it was not until the days of Apophi(s) that Memphis fell to the Hyksos conquerors, and the Pharaohs of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Dynasties sank to the position of vassals.

It will be remembered that at the end of the Eleventh Dynasty (Vol. I, p. 317) the eastern Delta was overrun by Asiatic tribesmen who had pushed in from the desert and from the fringes of Palestine, owing to a serious state of famine in those regions. At the beginning of the Twelfth Dynasty these foreigners, amongst whom the Hebrew patriarch Abraham is to be numbered, were all deported, and a wall was built across the main caravan route into Egypt for the purpose of preventing their return (page 40) ; yet already in the reign of Sesusri II we have seen how these tribesmen were filtering back into the country (page 83), and we have noticed how, in the reign of Amenemhet III, Joseph was appointed to high office. At the beginning of the Thirteenth Dynasty the eastern Delta must have been swarming with these tribesmen once more, amongst whom the descendants of Joseph's brothers and other members of the house of Jacob were probably to be found (page 112) ; and the stories of their wealth and prosperity no

doubt fired the imagination of the desert tribes to such an extent that at last they made an organized invasion of the country, being led by their *sheikhs* or chieftains—men of the standing of Abraham and Jacob—who, like Abshai in the days of Sesusri II (page 83), were generally called *Hiqu-Khesu*, or “Princes of the Deserts.” In the days of Manetho this word *Khesu*, “Deserts,” was probably confused with *shesu*, “Bedouins” or “Shepherds,” and both had some such pronunciation as *shūs*, *shōs*, or *sōs*; and thus he speaks of these invaders as *Hiqu-shōs*, or *Hyksōs* (sometimes written *Hykshōs*), translating the words as meaning “Princes of the Shepherds,” instead of “Princes of the Deserts.” Hence these “Princes of the Deserts” have come to be known in Egyptian history as the “Shepherd Kings,” a name which well befits them, for their wealth was mainly derived from their flocks.


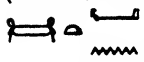
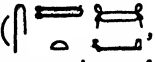
The invaders of Egypt were probably of mixed Semitic race. It is quite probable that some of them were the actual ancestors of the later Jewish nation, a point which Josephus is at pains to demonstrate. Many of them were Syrians; many were Bedouin Arabs; some came, as Abraham had come, from Mesopotamia; some came from Arabia; and some had lived for centuries on the southern fringes of Palestine and the eastern fringes of the Delta. We have seen them there in the story of Sinuhe (page 50); and their rich robes, which indicate their wealth, have been noticed in the contingent headed by Abshai (page 83). Their bronze weapons were superior to those of the Egyptians; and it was they who first introduced horses and chariots into Egypt, neither having been known on the banks of the Nile previous to this date.

So gradual had been the incursion of these tribesmen into the north-eastern provinces that when at length the main invasion took place, with an organized army, the mild Egyptians of these regions passed under their fierce sway without a battle; and soon this swarthy and black-bearded horde were masters of the whole eastern side of the Delta, including in their dominions the great cities such as Thoan (Zoan or Tanis), Bin'ded (Mendes), and Pebast (Bubastis), where the sleek, clean-shaven Egyptians, with their customary orderliness, maintained their civilization and their customs under con-



ditions of great fear and hardship. The invaders' chief centre, however, was Avaris. Avaris, or Avar as it is without the Greek termination *is*, is the ancient Egyptian Hetuar or He'uar ; but its site has not been identified with certainty. Manetho tells us that it was on the east side of the Bubastis Canal, in the Saite province ; but as that province is nowhere near Bubastis, " Saite " is evidently a misreading for some other geographical name, and need not be considered. Africanus, in an excerpt from Manetho, says that " the Shepherds founded a city in the Sethroite province," and it has generally been thought, therefore, that this Avaris is referred to, that " Saite " is to be corrected to " Sethroite," and hence that Avaris is to be placed near Sethroe, which is in the neighbourhood of Tanis, on the edge of Lake Menzaleh. But, as Petrie has pointed out (*Hyksos and Israelite Cities*, p. 10), Manetho states that Avaris was fortified in order to defend Egypt from a further invasion from Syria ; and Tanis is quite off the track which would be followed by such an invasion. Avaris is therefore to be looked for at some point at which it would command the road from Syria to Memphis, the strategic heart of Egypt ; and Petrie gives good reasons for supposing that the great Hyksos fortress and encampment which he found at Tell el-Yehudiyeh is actually Avaris, that fort being on the east of the Bubastis Canal, commanding the road from Syria, viâ the Wady Tumilât, to Memphis. It has been suggested that Pelusium, the frontier town on the now dried-up Pelusiatic branch of the Nile, is to be identified with Avaris, but I do not think that the arguments in favour of this site are as strong as those which connect it with Tell el-Yehudiyeh.

Here, at Avaris, the invaders at length proclaimed their most important chieftain as king, and the cowed Egyptians of the eastern Delta made the best of a bad job by acknowledging him as their Pharaoh, and giving him the usual Pharaonic form of names and titles, just as, in later days, they accepted their Persian, Greek, and Roman conquerors as Pharaohs, and acclaimed them under all the traditional royal titles of Egypt, as though they had been native kings. In the Turin Papyrus, as we have seen on page 179, a fragment which evidently belongs to about this period records a king whose half-lost Reed- and Hornet-name was . . . kere and whose Son

of the Sun-god name is possibly to be read , Sanati, meaning "The beam of the ship"; and it may be that this was the Egyptian version of the Semitic name Sanati or Salati, the Salati(s) of Manetho. A scarab is known, too (Petrie, *Scarabs and Cylinders*, 15, 1) inscribed with the name , which is perhaps to be read Setnati (, set, "to terrify") or Se'nati, which might be another version of the same name, for the title "Prince of the Deserts" goes with it. But actually one cannot say that either the scarab or the name in the Turin Papyrus is certainly to be assigned to Salatis, and we must be content for the present with Manetho's mention of him and of his nineteen years' reign. There is a scarab (Fraser, *Scarabs*, 179) of a "Prince of the Deserts" named Semqen which, judging by its style, is to be dated to these early years of the dynasty; and it may have belonged, therefore, to one of the great chieftains at Tell el-Yehudiyeh (Avaris), where it was found.

DYN. XV, 2. BNON: . . . KERE BEBNUM  
1838-1828 B.C.

The second Hyksos king, according to Manetho, was Bnon (sometimes written Benon or Beon), and, as I have said on page 178, he probably held the throne for 11 years. In the Turin Papyrus there is a king of this period whose Reed- and Hornet-name ended with . . . kere, and whose other name was Bebnum, which is so close to Manetho's Bnon or Benon that the identification can be made with assurance. Nothing else is known of the reign.

DYN. XV, 3. APACHNA OR PACHNAN: MERUSRRE  
YAPAKHAL  
1827-1814 B.C.

The third king of the Hyksos dynasty is called Apachna(s) or Pachnan by Manetho; and some scarabs of this period are known which record a king whose throne-name was Merusrre, "The Beloved and Powerful-one of the Sun-god,"

and whose personal name sometimes seems to read Yakobhal (Jacob-el), meaning "Yakob is god" (Petrie, *History*, I, Fig. 147), the reference, in that case, being to an obscure Semitic divinity of that name. The best scarabs, however, give the name as Yapakhal or Yebekhal, and of these Manetho's name is a fair rendering, the final *l* making that change into *n* which is so often to be observed. Again nothing else is known of the reign, which, as I have suggested on page 177, lasted 14 years.

DYN. XV, 4. APOPHI: OEUSRRE APOPI  
1813-1778 B.C.

The first three Hyksos kings were evidently rulers of a restricted area, and may well have been the tyrants Manetho's description would lead us to suppose, burning Egyptian cities and enslaving the people, and leaving nothing to posterity but the walls of their fortified camp, and a few rough scarab-seals. But the fourth sovereign of the line appears as a real Pharaoh, who restored the temples of the Egyptian gods and under whom the arts and sciences flourished. He is, in fact, the first Hyksos king who is of any standing or importance.

When he came to the throne he took the Reed- and Hornet-name Oeusrre, "The Great and Powerful-one of the Sun-god," while as Son of the Sun-god he was called Apopi, which may have been an Egyptian rather than a Semitic name. At that time the Pharaoh Merneferre Ay (page 165) was on the throne of the Thirteenth Dynasty, and ruled all Upper Egypt, the city of Memphis being in his hands; while in the northern and western Delta the Pharaoh Thetumre of the Fourteenth Dynasty seems to have occupied the throne. One of these two kings is to be identified with the Timaïos or Toutimaïos of Manetho: either, as I have pointed out on page 166, the name Ay was read Demaiu and so produced Timaïo(s), or else Thetum(re) became Toutimai(os). It has sometimes been suggested that the name of one of the kings, Dudumose of the Seventeenth Dynasty, is the Toutimaïos of Manetho; but apart from the fact that the dates do not agree, it may be pointed out that Manetho never transcribes the word *mose* as *maïos*. Apopi seems at once either to have made war on

these neighbouring kings, or else, more probably, to have obtained their submission without resort to arms, and to have been acknowledged by them as Overlord of all Egypt to whom they paid their tribute. Memphis, at any rate, appears to have fallen to Apopi's army, peacefully or otherwise; and here it seems from Manetho's account that he established his residence, while the main body of his troops perhaps remained at Tell el-Yehudiyeh, a day's march away. Merneferre Ay at Thebes and Thetumre at Xoïs thus became his obedient vassals.

Apopi's influence in the south is shown by the fact that he presented a gateway to the temple of Gebeleyn, some miles up-stream from Thebes, the lintel of which, bearing his name, has been found (*Recueil*, xiv, 26). A vase inscribed with the name Apopi has been found at Thebes, as noted on page 263; and a sistrum so inscribed has been found at Denderah. A scarab bearing the name of a king's son named Apopi was found in Lower Nubia (*Archæological Survey of Nubia*, II, ii, 42, 44); and this prince may have been a son of the present king.

A palette inscribed with both names of this king was found in the Fayûm, and is now in Berlin (*Proceedings Soc. Bib. Arch.*, 1881, p. 97); a fragment of a diorite mortar is in the Cairo Museum; and a wooden stamp from Kahun (Petrie, *Kahun*, xii, 16) perhaps belongs to this reign. Scarabs bearing his name have been found at Tell el-Yehudiyeh, at Ghurob in the Fayûm neighbourhood, and at Qeبت (Koptos). But the most important relic of his reign is the famous Rhind Mathematical Papyrus, in which is the record that it was copied by a scribe named Ahmose in the 33rd year of this Pharaoh from an old copy made in the reign of Amenemhet III. This papyrus, which is now in the British Museum, gives a number of problems in arithmetic, dealing with measurements of volume and area. It may be observed in passing that the appearance of the name Ahmose, which is also that of the first King of the Eighteenth Dynasty, but is unknown in earlier times, is an indication that the reign of Apopi was not far distant from that period: in my chronology Apopi reigned some 200 years before the establishment of the Eighteenth Dynasty, but in Petrie's system 800 years intervened.

Apopi reigned, it seems, 36 years and 7 months, that is to say he died in the 8th month of his 37th year (1777 B.C.), corresponding to the period between the last week in April and the last in May.

DYN. XV, 5. HIAN : SEUSRENRE KHYAN

1777-1728 B.C.

The fifth sovereign of the line of Salatis is the only great Hyksos Pharaoh besides Apopi. When he came to the throne he assumed the Reed- and Hornet-name Seusrenre, meaning " Making powerful that which belongs to the Sun-god " ; and as Hawk-king he called himself Ineqetebu, " Embracing the Lands." His personal name, which he used as Son of the Sun-god, is written in Egyptian script as Khyan or Khyen, but the versions of Manetho give it as Ionias or Iannas, which, without the Greek terminations, become Ioni or Ian(n), standing for Hioni or Hian, the latter being a close rendering of Khyan. It is the same name as that of Haianu of Samal who fought against Shalmaneser III. Besides the usual Egyptian titles he generally called himself " Prince of the Deserts " ; but, apart from this foreign appellation, he seems to have ranked himself as a true Pharaoh, and to have conformed largely to Egyptian customs.

He set up a statue of himself in the temple of Pebast (Bubastis), and the lower part of this was found amidst the ruins there (Naville, *Bubastis*, xii, xxxv). So far as one can see, it was of excellent if conventional workmanship, and the inscription is skilfully engraved. The best traditions, in fact, of the Twelfth and early Thirteenth Dynasties are seen to have been maintained ; and it is clear that the standards of art have not deteriorated to any appreciable degree. This in itself, as I have pointed out on page 140, is proof that there was no great lapse of time between the period of the early Pharaohs of the Thirteenth Dynasty and his own age ; and it is quite impossible to suppose, as Petrie does, that a thousand years of obscurity and anarchy had elapsed since the Twelfth Dynasty fell. It is only after the age of Khyan that the art definitely begins to go down hill ; and the period of disorder and poor civilization which led to the bad work of the Seven-

teenth Dynasty obviously set in some time after Khyan had died.

No other large remains of this reign have been found in the Delta, but in Upper Egypt Khyan has left his name at Gebeley (Recueil, xvi, 42), in the temple to which his predecessor Apopi contributed a gateway. Several scarabs are known, one of which comes from Tell el-Yehudiyeh (Avaris); a gold ring is now at Leyden; and there are some cylinder-seals. Yet, in spite of this scarcity of traces of his hand in Egypt, there is reason to suppose that he asserted his power drastically; for, as has been explained on page 138, the two vassal dynasties—the Thirteenth in the south and the Fourteenth in the north—both seem to have come to an end in 1745 B.C., which was the 33rd year of Khyan's reign, and the inference is that he suppressed them. The evidence for this, of course, is hypothetical: it depends mainly on my suppositions that Manetho's figures for the lengths of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Dynasties were 153 and 134 years respectively, that these figures are correct, and that the two dynasties came to an end together—all of which is probable but not certain. The date of Khyan may be said to be pretty well assured by the calendrical evidence of the Rhind Papyrus explained on page 176; and thus, if the other points are conceded, we shall be entitled to picture this powerful Asiatic Pharaoh firmly suppressing the rivalries amongst the vassal kings at Thebes, and amongst those in the Delta, by dethroning the rulers of both kingdoms and proclaiming himself sole Pharaoh of all Egypt. As I have shown on page 172, Nebfure, the last king of the Thirteenth Dynasty, ended his reign on about March 30th (1745 B.C.); and in this date there is perhaps a hint of a winter campaign conducted by Khyan against his rebellious southern vassal, ending in the latter's death or deposition at the close of the campaigning season.

Khyan reigned, according to Manetho, 50 years and 1 month; and this mention of "one month" is significant, in view of the fact that he had adjusted the calendar in 1767 B.C. by adding exactly one month. It looks as though the fraction of the 51st year of his reign had been forgotten in Manetho's time, and that he was only known to have reigned a round 50 years, to which, however, had to be added the one

month added to the calendar in his days. This adjustment of the calendar, explained on page 176, took place in the 11th year of his reign ; and it is an indication of his power to impose laws and reforms throughout the country.

Two very interesting discoveries have been made which throw light on his foreign relations. Under a Mycenæan wall in the palace of Knossos in Crete the lid of an alabaster vase inscribed with Khyan's name has been discovered (*Annual, British School at Athens*, vii, 65, Fig. 21) ; and this shows that he made gifts to the Cretan king, or traded with him. In far-off Baghdad, too, a granite lion bearing his name has been discovered, and is now in the British Museum (Budge, *Guide to Sculpture*, 340) ; and this likewise shows that he traded with, or sent presents to, Babylonia—perhaps to Gandash, the first King of the Kassite dynasty, who conquered Babylon in 1746 B.C.

An interesting speculation may here be mentioned in regard to the sojourn of the Israelites in Egypt. The rabbinical tradition states that the Children of Israel had been " oppressed " for 240 years before the Exodus ; and, as I shall show in due course, and have already mentioned on page 178, the Exodus is to be dated to 1346 B.C. Thus the oppression began 240 years earlier, about 1586 B.C., which, as will be seen on page 233, is just about the date of the beginning of the great Egyptian war of liberation, when the native kings of the Seventeenth Dynasty launched their ultimately victorious campaign against the Hyksos rulers of the Delta, and when, therefore, the Semitic settlers would naturally have begun to be harshly treated. The Hebrew tradition also states that, previous to this, the Israelites had been in Egypt, without oppression, for 190 years, making a total of 430 years ; and this takes us back to 1776 B.C. as the beginning of their sojourn in the land, which year is, according to my chronology, the second of the reign of Khyan. It may be, thus, that Khyan, at the commencement of his reign, allowed some particular body of tribesmen, who became the ancestors of the Israelites, to enter Egypt ; or, in other words, that no sooner was his accession known on the fringes of Palestine than certain men of the tribe of Jacob migrated into Egypt ; or, again, Khyan may have received them as recruits for his army, having in mind

already the suppression of his Egyptian vassals. Khyan, being himself of Semitic stock, closely kin to the early Hebrew tribes, would be likely to have extended a welcome to them; and thus we see that the tradition is probably based on fact, and that the 430 years' total for the sojourn of the Israelites in Egypt may be as exact as the 240 years of oppression appears to be. At the accession of Khyan over a century and a half had elapsed since the days when Jacob and his family had come to live in Egypt; but the Biblical and rabbinical traditions tell us nothing of the doings of the Israelites in the years which followed Jacob's death, nor is there any reason to suppose that they remained in the Land of Goshen. Probably they wandered away eastwards in the early years of the Thirteenth Dynasty, and now in 1776 B.C. a body of them came back once more, being induced to do so by some now forgotten reason connected with the accession of Khyan. This Israelite contingent settled in Egypt, adding one more tribe to the assortment of Semitic peoples over whom Khyan ruled; and since they became the ancestors of the Children of Israel of Exodus days, the 430 years' sojourn in Egypt came to be dated from their arrival.

DYN. XV, 6. ASSI: MAEIBRE ASHSHI

1727-1679 B.C.

As the date of the foundation of the Eighteenth Dynasty is fixed at 1576 B.C., and as Manetho states that the Seventeenth Dynasty lasted 151 years, the establishment of the Seventeenth Dynasty must have taken place in 1727 B.C., which is the date of the end of the reign of Khyan. It seems, then, that on the death of that aged monarch, and the accession of his successor, the Egyptians of the south revolted, and set up their own Pharaoh on the throne which had been vacant for the 17 years since the suppression of the Thirteenth Dynasty.

Khyan's successor is called Assi(s) by Manetho, and this corresponds to the royal name Ashshi which is found on many scarabs of this period, generally accompanied by the title Son of the Sun-god. There are also numerous scarabs of much the same style, and obviously of about the same period, inscribed with the throne-name Maeibre, "The Truth of the



Heart of the Sun-god"; and therefore we may suppose, though the point is not certain, that these two names are those of the one king, Manetho's Assi. That his rule was weak, and that it marks the decline of the Hyksos power, is shown by the secession of the south, by the fact that he was the last of his dynasty, and by the absence of any relics of the reign other than scarab-seals, these, however, being common, as is to be expected in view of his long tenure of the throne. Manetho gives him a reign of 49 years and 2 months, which means that he died in the 3rd month of his 50th year, 1679 B.C., a month which corresponded to about December. As will be seen in the study of the Seventeenth Dynasty in the next chapter, he seems to have lost gradually the whole of Upper Egypt to a point not far south of Memphis, his capital; and when he died the Hyksos power was restricted once more to the Delta.

## CHAPTER V

### THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH DYNASTIES

1727-1577 B.C.

#### THE FIRST HALF OF THE SEVENTEENTH DYNASTY IN UPPER EGYPT

**A**S I have already stated on page 141, the Seventeenth Dynasty held the throne, according to Manetho, for 151 years, a figure, I may add, which is well authenticated, because Syncellus, the Byzantine chronographer, also quotes it from Africanus to show that Eusebius had tampered with it; and therefore, as the Eighteenth Dynasty was established in 1576 B.C., the Seventeenth must have been founded in 1727 B.C., the year of the death of Khyan. Khyan, as has been said, was succeeded on the Hyksos throne by Ashshi, who reigned 49 years, from 1727 to 1678 B.C., and with him the line of Salatis (i.e. the Fifteenth Dynasty) came to an end. Then followed the Sixteenth Dynasty, also of Hyksos kings, ruling at Memphis and in the Delta; and according to my chronology they held the throne for 102 or 103 years, namely from the death of Ashshi in 1678 B.C. to the accession of Ahmose I, the founder of the Eighteenth Dynasty, in 1576. Thus, the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Dynasties were contemporaneous, as, of course, we know from the fact that Sequenre of the latter line was at war with Apopi of the former (page 216). The Sixteenth Dynasty consisted of the Hyksos or Asiatic kings who ruled in the north, and the Seventeenth of the Egyptian kings who reigned in the south; but as the Seventeenth Dynasty was founded 49 years earlier than the Sixteenth, I will record the first monarchs of the Seventeenth before dealing with those of the Sixteenth.

The following eleven Pharaohs have left considerable

remains in Upper Egypt; but as the workmanship displayed in the remains left by them is much inferior to that of the Thirteenth Dynasty, it is to be supposed that they belong to the Seventeenth Dynasty. Their names are :—

1. Dedhotpere Dudumose.
2. Dedenkhre . . . . .
3. Dedenkhre Mentuemsuf.
4. Dedneferre Dudumose.
5. Usrkhe . . . . .kheu Sobkemsuf.
6. Sekhemuthkheure Sobkemsuf.
7. Sekhemsesheditouire Sobkemsuf.
8. Sekhemneferkheure Wepwetemsuf.
9. Sekhemherhermaetre Intefoe.
10. . . . . Intefoe.
11. Sekhemwepmaetre Intefoe.
12. Nubkheperure Intef.

The order in which they reigned is uncertain, but we may perhaps assume that Dedhotpere Dudumose was the founder of the line, because the name Dudumose means "Born of the god Dudu," the patron deity of Esne (the Greek Latopolis and modern Esneh), a city some 28 miles south of Thebes, and it is more likely that the new royal house would have been set up in the obscurity and safety of an out-of-the-way place such as this than at Thebes or any other of the more conspicuous centres. The style of workmanship shown in the objects left by the kings of the name of Intefoe indicates that they come at the end of this list.

#### DYN. XVII, 1. DEDHOTPERE DUDUMOSE

1727-1723 B.C.

It is to be supposed that Dudumose was a local prince of Esneh who, on hearing of the death of the great Khyan at Memphis, at once proclaimed himself Pharaoh, relying on the great distance of his home from the Hyksos metropolis to save him from the vengeance of Khyan's successor Ashshi. It is possible that he was related to the royal line of the Thirteenth Dynasty, which had been suppressed some 17 years ago; and it may be, of course, that in the end he obtained the permission of Ashshi to call himself Pharaoh and to revive the vassal kingdom of the south.

As Reed- and Hornet-king he assumed the name Dedhotpere, meaning "Doubly Established in the satisfaction of the Sun-god"; as Hawk-king he called himself Uthkhe,

"Prosperous in his Ascension"; as Lord of the Vulture and the Cobra his name was Shedettoui, "Reclaiming the Two Lands"; as Hawk of Nubi he took the name Inhotpe, "The Bringer of Contentment"; and as Son of the Sun-god he used his own name Dudumose. The only relics of his reign that have come down to us are two inscribed tablets found at Edfu, the ancient Edbu, a city a few miles up-stream from Esneh. One of these was made in the Pharaoh's honour by a military officer called Khonsuemwas, who, judging by his name, which means "The Moon-god in Thebes," was a native of that city; and the other was made by a Prince Herseker, son of Prince Sobkhotpe (*Annales*, ix, 1, pl. 1; and 1921, pl. 5). The length of this king's reign is not known; but I have given him a provisional 5 years.

DYN. XVII, 2, 3 & 4. DEDENKHRE, DEDENKHRE MENTUEM-SUF, AND DEDNEFERRE DUDUMOSE

1722-1708 B.C.

Dedenkhre (written with the double *ded*-sign), meaning "Doubly Established as the Life of the Sun-god," is the name of another king, probably to be placed here, and known to us by two scarabs (Newberry, *Scarabs*, x, 25, 26). Another Pharaoh has the Reed- and Hornet-name Dedenkhre (written with a single *ded*-sign), and the Son of the Sun-god name Mentuemsuf, "The god Mentu is as his protection," Mentu being the war-god of Thebes, who was particular patron of the Eleventh Dynasty. The name of this king was found on a slab of stone at Gebeleyn, not far from Esneh (*Recueil*, xx, 72); but nothing else is known of him.

Then there is another Dudumose whose Reed- and Hornet-name was Dedneferre, "Established in the Beauty of the Sun-god." A block of stone from El Kâb, between Esneh and Edfu, is inscribed with the name Dudumose, and probably belongs to this king; as also does a block found in the Eleventh Dynasty temple at Dêr el-Bahri (Naville, *Eleventh Dynasty Temple*, x, D). There is also a stela which was found at Gebeleyn, whereon this king is shown in the presence of the gods Khonsu and Anubis (Lange and Schäfer, *Cat. Cairo Mus.*, 20533); but here the work is very poor. The Pharaoh

seems to have extended his little kingdom northwards so that it included Thebes; but nothing else is known of him. I have assigned average reigns of 5 years to each of these kings.

DYN. XVII, 5 & 6. USRKHE....KHEU SOBKEMSUF AND  
SEKHEMUTHKHEURE SOBKEMSUF

1707-1688 B.C.

The Pharaoh Usrkhe....kheu Sobkemsuf is only known by a rough inscription in the Wady Hammamât, the famous breccia-quarry in the Eastern Desert, which was approached by a road from Qebt (Koptos) north of Thebes; but this suggests that the southern kingdom had now been extended northwards certainly as far as Koptos. The 9th year of the reign is here recorded. The second Sobkemsuf, whose Reed- and Hornet-name was Sekhemuthkheure, "The Powerful-one, Prospering in the Ascensions of the Sun-god," has left considerable traces of his reign; and now the kingdom seems to have extended as far north as Ebod (Abydos), where a red-granite statue of this Pharaoh has been found (Mariette, *Abydos*, ii, 26). His other names are recorded as follows: as Hawk-king he was called Hotpeneteru, "Contentment of the Gods"; as Lord of the Vulture and the Cobra his name was Eshkheperu, "Multiformed," and as Hawk of Nubi he was known as Ineqtoui, "Embracing the Two Lands"—a name so closely similar to the Hawk-name of the great Hyksos king Khyan that it must have been based upon it, thus showing that the 30 years which intervened between these two monarchs according to my chronology is in accord with the facts, and that the 900 years placed between them by Petrie's system is out of the question.

A statuette probably representing him, though only giving the name Sobkemsuf, has been found at Karnak (Legrain, *Cat. Cairo Mus.* 42029), and from the same temple comes a small obelisk inscribed with his name (*Annales*, vi, 284); while another statuette, probably found at Thebes, and having both names, is now at University College, London (Petrie, *History*, I, Fig. 136). He evidently sent an expedition to the quarries of Wady Hammamât, for his cartouches are inscribed on the rocks there, and he is represented worshipping

the god Min, the patron deity of that desert region (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 151). At Shatt er-Rigâl, south of Edfu, his name is also inscribed (Petrie, *Season*, 385). His tomb, which was probably at Thebes, seems to have been discovered by natives in modern times, for the coffin and chest for the canopic vases, inscribed with the cartouche "Sobkemsuf," have found their way into the Leyden Museum (Leemans, *Leyden*; Boeser, *Leyden*, III, viii); an inscribed heart-scarab, such as is placed upon a mummy, is now in the British Museum (Hall, *Cat. Scarabs*, 211); and a gold-plated scarab was in the Hilton Price collection (*Sale Catalogue*, 960). In my chronology I have allowed 10 years for each of these two reigns.

DYN. XVII, 7. SEKHEMSESHEDETITOUIRE SOBKEMSUF  
1687-1683 B.C.

A third Sobkemsuf is known, whose Reed- and Hornet-name was Sekhemseshedetitouire, "The Power Reclaiming the Two Lands of the Sun-god"; and since the word *shedeti*, "Reclaiming," suggests the name of Shedet, the city standing on the reclaimed land in the Fayûm, near the Labyrinth, which was the seat of government in the late Twelfth and early Thirteenth Dynasties, it may perhaps be supposed that this southern kingdom had now extended its power northwards to a point between the Fayûm and Memphis, where the frontier of the vassal Thirteenth Dynasty had been placed. This king Sobkemsuf seems to have lived at the end of the reign of Ashshi, the last king of the Fifteenth Dynasty, when the power of the Hyksos line was on the wane; and thus there is no reason to think that Sobkemsuf's realms must have been confined to the far south, although, as a matter of fact, he has left traces of his rule only at Abydos (Petrie, *Abydos*, II, xxxii) and at Thebes.

Thebes was his capital, and there he was buried. Though no remains of his tomb now exist, we have an account of its robbery in the days of the Twentieth Dynasty, and of the trial of the culprits (*Abbott Papyrus*, III, i; vi, 3; *Amherst Papyrus*, 25); and it is apparent that it was one of those small brick pyramids of which some portions still remained until a few years ago on the desert hillsides at the north end

of the Theban necropolis. The commission appointed at that time to investigate the robberies of the royal tombs reported as follows: "It was found that the thieves had violated the tomb by tunnelling under the chamber at the ground-level of the pyramid, (the mouth of the tunnel being) in the great exterior chamber of the (later) sepulchre of the Overseer of the Granaries, Nebamon, of (the time of) King Menkheperre (Thutmose III). The burial-place of the king was found to be without its occupant, and so was the burial-place of the Chief Royal Wife Nubkhes, his queen; (for) the thieves had taken them." One of the robbers on his trial confessed that he and his confederates penetrated the pyramid by means of this tunnel, and found the burial-chamber "protected and surrounded by masonry and covered with a roof." "We destroyed this completely," he says, "and found the king and queen lying there. We opened their sarcophagi and the coffins in which they were. We found the august mummy of the king with his sacred axe beside him, and many amulets and ornaments of gold about his neck. His head was overlaid above with gold, and the august body of the king was completely covered with gold, (while) his coffins were shining with gold and silver, within and without, and inlaid with all kinds of stones. We took the gold which we found on the august mummy of this divine personage, and the amulets and ornaments that were about his neck and the coffins in which he lay. Having also found the queen, we likewise took all that which we found with her, and we set fire to their coffins, and stole their furniture which we found with them (consisting of) vases of gold, silver, and bronze, and divided them. We (also) divided the gold which we found with the divine personage and in the (two) august mummies, the amulets, the ornaments, and on the coffins, into eight lots."

Queen Nubkhes, mentioned above, is named also on a tablet in the Louvre (Pierret, *Recueil Insc. Louvre*, ii, 5), where she is described as the daughter of the Chief Justice Sobkdudu (a name apparently belonging to the Dudumose period), and is called "the great heiress and great royal wife, chief of all women." A stele is known (*Proceedings Soc. Bib. Arch.* 1887, 190) belonging to a high official named Mentu-hotpe, who was the son of a Princess Sobkemsuf and of her

husband Prince Kemes, who acted as steward of the estate of Queen Nubkhes, but the information is lacking by which one could exactly place them.

In the British Museum (No. 1163; Budge, *History*, III, 127) there is a rough limestone stele which gives the cartouches of this Pharaoh, and commemorates a scribe of the temple of Sobk, named Sobkhotpe and his wife Iuhetibu, and as the latter name is the same as that borne by the mother of the 22nd Pharaoh of the Thirteenth Dynasty (1863-1861 B.C.), nearly two centuries before, some scholars have thought that these kings of the name of Sobkemsuf ought to be placed at about that time. But the rough workmanship shown on the above-mentioned stele, and in all the Sobkemsuf monuments, makes it quite certain that they could not have belonged to the Thirteenth Dynasty, when very good work was being turned out.

DYN. XVII, 8. SEKHEMNEFERKHEURE WEPWETEMSUF  
1682-1681 B.C.

There is a stele in the British Museum (Budge, *Guide to Sculpture*, 281) which gives the name of a Pharaoh Wepwetemsuf, whose Reed- and Hornet-name was Sekhemneferkheure, "The Power and the Beauty of the Ascensions of the Sun-god." Wepwet is the jackal-god of Seut (Assiout) in Middle Egypt; and it looks as though this king had been a nobleman of that city who seized the throne on the death of the last Sobkemsuf. Only this one record of his reign remains, and he probably did not survive more than a couple of years or so.

DYN. XVII, 9 & 10. SEKHEMHERHERMAETRE INTEFOE, AND  
INTEFOE  
1680-1661 B.C.

In the Louvre there are two coffins (Pierret, *Recueil Insc. Louvre*, I, 85, 86), both of somewhat crude workmanship such as was prevalent at this period, the one being decorated with paint and the other with gold-leaf. The first is inscribed with the name of a king who, as Reed- and Hornet-king, was called Sekhemherhermaetre, "The Power resting upon the truth, or warranty, of the Sun-god," and whose personal



name was Intefoe, like that of the founder of the Eleventh Dynasty (Vol. I, p. 288). The second is inscribed with the name of another king Intefoe, whose other name is not given. Both these coffins were found at Thebes early in the last century, and therefore these two kings seem to have reigned at that city, and the style of the workmanship, which is very similar to that of the coffin of Seqenenre (page 212), places them in this period, though their exact position in the dynasty is unknown. In my chronology I have allowed a period of 10 years for each of them. The inscription on the second coffin states that it was made for the deceased by his brother, also named Intefoe, who seems to be a third king of that name.

DYN. XVII, II. SEKHEMWEPMATRE INTEFOE

1660-1651 B.C.

Probably this king is the brother of the previous monarch mentioned on his coffin, as stated above. His Reed- and Hornet-name was Sekhemwepmaetre, "The Power opening up the truth of the Sun-god"; as Hawk-king he was called Wepmaet, "Opening up the Truth"; and as Son of the Sun-god he was called Intefoe. Nothing is known of his reign, with the exception of three objects from his tomb which seems to have been discovered in modern times at Thebes and plundered by natives. A pyramidion, which may have formed the cap of the royal pyramid, and which is inscribed with his name, is now in the British Museum (No. 578); the gilded coffin is also in that museum (No. 6652); and a funeral-box is in the Louvre (No. 614). The length of the reign is not known, but I have allowed 10 years for it.

In the Twentieth Dynasty, more than 500 years later, the tomb was inspected by officials who were reporting on the condition of the ancient royal sepulchres, owing to the number of robberies which had taken place; and the statement made by them to the authorities has been preserved in the Abbott Papyrus. It reads: "The tomb of King Sekhemwepmaetre, Son of the Sun-god, Intefoe, was found to have been tunnelled by the hands of the robbers at the spot where the memorial tablet is fixed. Examined on this day, it (the tomb-chamber) was found intact, the thieves not having been able to penetrate to it."

## DYN. XVII, 12. NUBKHEPERURE INTEFOE

1650-1641 B.C.

We now come to a king who seems to belong to this period, but whose position in the dynasty is not known. I have allowed him, again, a reign of 10 years. His full titulary has been preserved to us on various objects: as Reed- and Hornet-king he was called Nubkheperure, "The Golden-one of the Creations of the Sun-god"; as Hawk-king his name was Neferkheperu, "The Beautiful-one of Creations (or of Created Beings)"; as Lord of the Vulture and the Cobra he was named Herhernestef, "Resting upon his throne"; and as Son of the Sun-god he was called either Intef or Intefoe. The words *her her*, "resting upon," which form part of his Vulture and Cobra name, also appear in the Reed- and Hornet-name of the first Intefoe (page 197); and this is some indication that these two kings were not separated by many years.

The most important relic of this reign (Petrie, *Koptos*, viii) is a decree rather coarsely inscribed on the side of the fine doorway built by Sesusri I in the temple of Qebt (Koptos), this position showing, incidentally, that the king with whom we are now dealing reigned at some period after the Twelfth Dynasty, when the buildings of that great epoch were no longer so clean and uninjured by time as to deter the authorities from writing their decrees upon the walls. It appears that a certain nobleman of Koptos named Toti, son of Min-hotpe, had entered into a conspiracy with the king's enemies; and this is the proclamation of banishment made against him on that account. The enemies referred to were perhaps the Hyksos rulers of the Delta and the desert tribes who were their kinsmen; and, as Koptos was the Egyptian terminus of the caravan route across the desert to the Red Sea coast and thence to Arabia and Sinai, it may be that an invasion of these southern reaches of the Nile by this road had been contemplated. The decree reads as follows:—

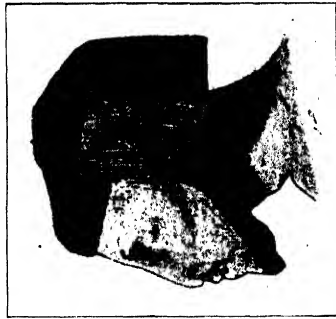
"Year 3, 3rd month of the 2nd season, day 25 (i.e. about the middle of April), in the reign of King Nubkheperure, Son of the Sun-god, Intef, who is endowed with life, like the Sun-god, for ever. A royal proclamation to the Chancellor, the Prince of Qebt, Minemhet; and to the King's Son, the Governor

of Qebt, Kynen ; and to the Chancellor, the Priest of Min (the patron god of Qebt), and Scribe of the Temple, Nefer-hotpeur ; and to all the troops of Qebt ; and to all the officials of the temple. This proclamation has been issued to you to let you know that (whereas) my Majesty had sent the Scribe of the Sacred Treasury of Amon, Siamon, and the official, Amenusre, to make an investigation in the temple of Min ; and whereas the officials of this temple of my father Min had reported to my Majesty (through them), saying ' An evil thing is about to happen in this temple : epemies have been harboured by Toti, son of Minhotpe, blasted be his name ! ' —(therefore) let him be ejected from the temple of my father Min ; let him be turned out of his office in the temple, (he, and his posterity) from son to son and heir to heir ; let him be an outcast upon the earth ! Let his (share of the sacrificial) bread and meat (which was the income of his office) be forfeited ; let not his name be remembered in this temple ; according as is (right) to be done in the case of such an one who is hostile and (has turned) towards the enemies of his god. Let the records of his (name) in the temple of Min, and in the treasury, be obliterated, and (those) in every document likewise. And as for any sovereign or any ruler who shall forgive him, may he not receive the white crown (of the Reed-king) nor wear the red crown (of the Hornet-king), may he not sit upon the throne of the living Hawk-king, and may the Vulture and the Cobra not be gracious to him as their beloved. As for any minister or any official who shall recommend the king to forgive him, may his people, his goods, and his property be forfeited to the estate of my father Min, Lord of Qebt. Let not any member of his (Toti's) family, or of the relatives of his father or his mother, be appointed to this office ; but let this office be given to the Chancellor, the Overseer of the Royal Property, Minemhet, and let the bread and meat pertaining to it be given to him, being secured to him in writing, in the temple of my father Min, Lord of Qebt, and (to his posterity) from son to son and heir to heir."

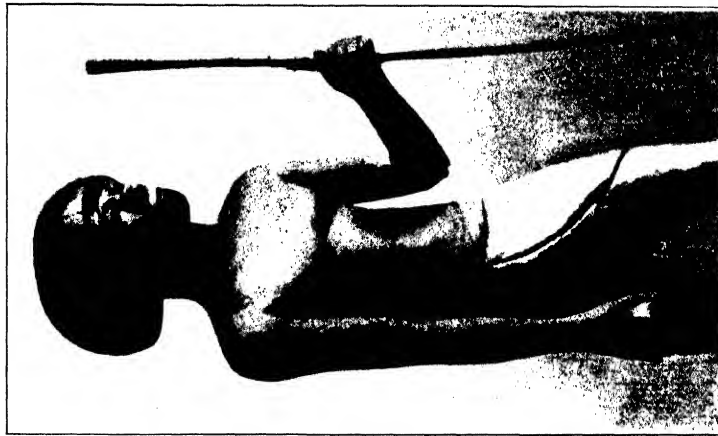
In this inscription it is interesting to notice that the Pharaoh seems to be warning future "sovereigns" of the land that they will not attain to the Pharaonic throne if they show



WOODEN STATUETTE OF AN ASIATIC, BEARDED,  
BUT WEARING THE EGYPTIAN SKIRT OR KILT.  
Found near the pyramid of Amenemhet III at  
Dahshur.



SIDE VIEW OF THE SAME WOODEN  
STATUETTE.



BRONZE STATUETTE OF AN EGYPTIAN OF ABOUT  
THE THIRTEENTH DYNASTY, NOW AT ATHENS.  
*See page 136 etc.*



mercy to the culprit, which suggests that to be a Pharaoh in those days was not necessarily to be *the* Pharaoh; and that the country, in fact, was often ruled by several petty kings. Another interesting point to be observed is that banishment and confiscation were the only punishments inflicted upon the traitor; and in this we see again that extraordinary mildness and humanity of the Egyptians which is in such marked contrast to the savagery and bloodthirstiness of other ancient peoples. Egyptian civilization did not consist only of a civilized condition of externals: it was a civilization, through and through, of the inner feelings and impulses.

This Pharaoh carried out a good deal of rebuilding at the temple of Qebt, and many slabs of stone covered with reliefs belonging to this reign have been found there (Petrie, *Koptos*, vi, vii). At Ebod (Abydos), too, he built extensively (Petrie, *Abydos*, I, lvi, lvii; II, xxxii); and besides columns and blocks from his temple, Prof. Petrie and I found two stelæ amongst the ruins, one of which shows the Pharaoh and his son, Nakht, who was Commander of the Archers, standing before a now destroyed figure of Osiris, while the other shows the King and his Chancellor, Ahnefer, before the god. This name Ahnefer, by the way, the first syllable of which is written with the hieroglyph of the crescent moon, is an indication that we are not far distant in time from the end of the Seventeenth Dynasty and early Eighteenth, when that word is so often found incorporated into personal names. An interesting point in regard to the other stela is that the king has the title *Hiq*, "Prince," before his cartouche, which shows how the use of that title by the Hyksos kings had given it a royal significance that it had not before possessed, and how it was now used by the Hyksos vassals. In the time of Seqenenre (page 212) and Kemose (page 220) it had really the full significance of "King."

According to my tentative arrangement of the kings of this dynasty, the last Pharaoh of the name of Sobkemsuf died about 1682 B.C., that is to say some 30 years or so before the accession of the Intefoe with whom we are now concerned. It is possible that this Sobkemsuf had a granddaughter who was the heiress of the original line of the Seventeenth Dynasty, and that this Intefoe's right to the throne was strengthened

by the fact that he was married to this lady ; for his queen is named Sobkemsuf, and seems to have been a very important personage. A pendant belonging to her has been found at Edfo (Edfu), in the neighbourhood of the original home of the dynasty (page 192), and on it is written the name of a King Intef, wherein a certain peculiarity of spelling is to be noticed which identifies it with this Intef or Intefoe. Her tomb was repaired in the reign of Thutmose I of the Eighteenth Dynasty (page 275). There is a head-rest of her Chief Treasurer in the British Museum (No. 23068), and a stela from Edfu records members of her family (*Recueil*, ix, 92).

Of small remains of this King Intefoe, there is a panther's head made of blue paste in the British Museum (Petrie, *History*, I, 273) ; and a statuette in the Lee Collection (Petrie, *History*, I, 273) shows the king triumphing over Asiatics and negroes, thus indicating that he was at war with the Hyksos of the Delta, as is also suggested by the Koptos proclamation. There are several scarabs of this reign ; and there is a cylinder-seal in the British Museum (Newberry, *Scarabs*, vii, 12) which is inscribed with this Pharaoh's name, together with that of Nubuthre (page 205), who was perhaps one of the petty kings of the period.

The Pharaoh was buried in one of the small pyramids in the Theban necropolis, and the tomb was inspected by the officials of the Twentieth Dynasty, whose report is given in the Abbott Papyrus and reads as follows : " The tomb of King Nubkheperure, Son of the Sun-god, Intef, was found to have been tunnelled into by the thieves. They had (however) penetrated (only)  $2\frac{1}{2}$  cubits into its masonry, and 1 cubit into the outer chamber of the (adjacent tomb of the) Chief of the Oblation-carriers of the Temple of Amon, Yuroi, which is in ruins. It (the royal tomb) was uninjured, the thieves having been unable to penetrate into it." In modern times, the two small obelisks which stood before the ruined pyramid were despatched to Cairo, but the boat on which they were being transported was wrecked near Qamuleh, and the obelisks have never been recovered (*Monuments Divers*, 50a). Mr. Winlock (*Journal*, X, 217) was shown by some old natives the spot where these obelisks stood, and was thus able to locate this pyramid. It proved to be near the

tomb of a personage called Shuroy, whose name the ancient inspectors had evidently misread as Yuroi by a mistake which would be very easy to make in Egyptian script.

It is necessary now to go back to the death of the Hyksos monarch Ashshi, the last Pharaoh of the Fifteenth Dynasty.

#### THE FIRST NINE HYKSOS KINGS OF THE SIXTEENTH DYNASTY 1678-1597 B.C.

When Ashshi died we do not know what happened at Memphis, his capital ; but a new occupant of the Pharaonic throne of the "Princes of the Deserts" seems to have been found, and a line of kings was established which contributed at least ten Asiatic Pharaohs to the Memphite realm. The names of these monarchs are known, but the order in which they reigned can only be guessed at. Here I will record the first nine of them.

1. It is possible that the first successor of Ashshi was the Pharaoh whose Reed- and Hornet-name was Nebkhepeshre, "Lord of the Scimitar (or Valour) of the Sun-god," and whose name as Son of the Sun-god was Apopi, like that of the fourth king of the original Hyksos dynasty. A vase of brown chert or flint, inscribed with his name, is in the British Museum (No. 4498B), and two or three scarabs are known, one being of the good workmanship one would expect at this period in Memphis. At Sakkâra, the necropolis of Memphis, the coffin of a man named Oebad, probably an Asiatic, was discovered (Lacau, *Cat. Cairo Mus.* 28108), and in it a dagger with an electrum handle was found (*Annales*, vii, 115), inscribed with the name of the king, and of the original owner, Nehmen, a name which recalls that of Nahamani, a companion of Zerubbabel, mentioned in the Bible (*Nehemiah* vii. 7). I have allowed 20 years for the reign.

2. A scarab and a plaque of this period bear the name Nebkere, "Lord of the Spirit of the Sun-god," which may belong to a king of this date. I have allowed him 10 years' reign.

3. Another scarab gives the name Nebshefre, "Lord of the Valour (or Power) of the Sun-god," which seems to be that of a king of this period. The three names Nebkhepeshre, Nebkere, and Nebshefre seem to hang together ; and the word



*shef*, in the last, links it to the name which now follows. I have allowed a round dozen years for the reign.

4. Sheftouinubre, "The Valour of the Two Lands of the Golden-one of the Sun-god," is found on a scarab of good workmanship, belonging to this age. As will be seen in the lists given on page 231, this king may have lived at about the time when the eleven petty kings whom I am about to mention, whose names all incorporated the word *nub*, "The Golden," were ruling in the Western Delta. I have allowed 5 years for this, and each of the next three reigns.

5. A scarab of this period bears the name Shefhotpere, "The Valour, or Valorous-one, contenting the Sun-god," the word *shef* linking it with the two previous kings.

6. There are some scarabs inscribed with the name Oehot-pere, "The Great-one contenting the Sun-god"; and while the *hotpe* perhaps links him to the last-named king, the *Oe*, "Great," connects him with the sea-kings of the early part of the dynasty, and with all the remaining kings.

7. Oenebre, "The Great-one, Lord of the Sun-god," is found as a royal name on two scarabs, and seems to have belonged to a king of this age.

8. Oeneterre, "The Great and Divine-one of the Sun-god," is another royal name of this period found on scarabs.

9. An obelisk found at Thoan (Tanis) is inscribed with the name of a King Oesehre, "The Great-one of the Wisdom of the Sun-god" (Petrie, *Tanis*, I, ii, 20).

The 10th and last king of the dynasty, Oequenre Apopi, was the Hyksos Pharaoh who was finally ejected from Egypt by the victorious Seventeenth Dynasty, as recorded on page 242.

#### THE SEA-KINGS OF THE SIXTEENTH DYNASTY

Manetho states that the Sixteenth Dynasty was of "Hellenic" origin. This means to say that, according to the tradition of his time, the new line, which was established on the death of Assi, was founded by an invader who had come across the Mediterranean from the north. Now several scarabs of about this period have been found (Petrie, *History*, I, 281) inscribed with names preceded by the royal title *Neter-nefer*, "the Good God" or *Sire*, "Son of the Sun-god," each name ending with the three zigzag lines denoting "sea,"

probably reading *ium*. In this series we find the names Oequerium, which may mean "The mighty-one of the Storms of the Sea"; Oeium, "The mighty-one from the Sea"; Yeium, perhaps meaning "Cleansed by the Sea"; Yekheium or Kheyium, "Ascending from the Sea"; Khereium, "The Sun-god ascending from the Sea"; and Yakobium, "Jacob of the Sea." These kings seem to have been Semitic invaders belonging to some seafaring race; and it appears likely that their incursion into Egypt accounts for the epithet "Hellenic" which Manetho gives to the new dynasty. Nothing, however, is known of them; and they seem merely to have held the northern Delta at the time when the kings of the name of Intefoe were ruling in Upper Egypt, and the Hyksos monarchs were reigning at Memphis.

Three other royal names, found on scarabs of somewhat similar style, may belong to petty kings of this period: Qur or Qul, Khuoth, and Nebwaheb.

#### ELEVEN PETTY KINGS OF THE SIXTEENTH DYNASTY

As mentioned above, the name Nubuthre occurs on a cylinder-seal together with the name of Nubkheperure Intefoe, which suggests that it was that of a petty king. Now, there is a series of scarabs of this period, all of small size and simple work, giving nine different names, each beginning with *Nub* and ending with *re*, but each having an individual word in the middle. These are (1) Nubuthre, (2) Nubnefermaetre, (3) Nubusrre, (4) Nubhotpere, (5) Nubsekhemre, (6) Nubhetre, with the variant Nubhethor, (7) Nubibre, (8) Nubenkhre, and (9) Nubdedre. Besides these there is a plaque giving the name Nubneferre or Nefernubre, and there is a cowroid inscribed Nubkere.

These names seem to me to have belonged to a group of petty kings, probably styled *Hiq*-princes, who based them on that of the southern Pharaoh Nubkheperure Intefoe; but where they reigned is not known, for, unfortunately, not one of the scarabs has any record attached to it as to where it was found. Possibly these kings ruled in the western Delta, while the Hyksos Pharaohs governed the eastern Delta from Memphis; or it may be that they reigned in Middle Egypt, for in the reign of King Kemose (page 222) we read of


an Egyptian petty king of the name of Toti who was a loyal vassal of the last Hyksos Pharaoh, and who resided at the town of Nofrus in Middle Egypt, near Minieh.

PEHTINUBRE, FOUNDER OF THE SECOND HALF OF THE  
SEVENTEENTH DYNASTY

1640-1631 B.C.

After the reign of Nubkheperure Intefoe in Upper Egypt a king arose, apparently at Thebes, who was regarded in after-years as the founder of a new line. The evidence for the existence and importance of this king is remarkable. Many years ago Mariette found a broken stela amongst the ruins of Tanis; and, having copied the inscription, he buried it again, and it has never been rediscovered. (The stela is reproduced in Budge, *History*, III, 157.) This inscription was unique. First, there are the titles of Rameses II, the great Pharaoh of the Nineteenth Dynasty who reigned from 1295 to 1227 B.C. Then it says: "His Majesty ordered the making of a great stela in granite to (the memory of) the great name(s) of his fathers, having the wish to exalt the name of his father and his fathers, and (desiring) that (the name of) King Menmaetre Sety-Merenptah might be established and might be honoured for ever," that monarch (Sety I) being the father of Rameses II. Next comes the date: "The 4th day of the 4th month of the 3rd season, in the year 400 of the Reed- and Hornet-king (), Son of the Sun-god, (), beloved of the god Horakhti who exists for ever and ever." Then follows the statement that the High Priest of the god Set, who was named Sety, and who was the son of the Prime Minister Peramesses, came to erect the stela; and finally there is a prayer to 2, "Set, the Mighty-one," most of which is lost. At the top of the stela are the figures of Rameses II and the High Priest Sety, adoring the god Set, who wears the crown of Upper Egypt.

We must notice, in the first place, that the erection of this stela most probably took place towards the end of the reign of Rameses II, because the High Priest has so many titles that he was evidently a man of advanced years, and yet his father

was called Perameses, a name which restricts the birth of its owner to the Nineteenth Dynasty and perhaps even to within the reign of Rameses II. Thus, we shall not be far wrong if we date the inscription to about 1240 B.C. In the second place, it is to be observed that the object of the stela was to glorify the name of Set. The god Set, or Sutekh, was worshipped by the Hyksos kings, and therefore this god came to be disliked by many Egyptians, and the name of King Sety was thought to be ill-omened; but here the king wishes to show, as we shall presently see, that actually it was an *Egyptian* king of that name from whom he was descended, an enemy of the hated Hyksos. The stela was set up at Tanis partly because there was here a temple of Set, but mainly because Rameses II had made that city his residence and was collecting there the statues and records of earlier kings, so that he might bask in their ancestral glory. In the third place, the calendar date on the stela is to be noticed. In pre-Hyksos days, the birthday of the god Set was celebrated on the 3rd day of the five-days' intercalary period which preceded the new year; but after Khyan had adjusted the calendar by one month, as related on page 176, the god's birthday was celebrated on the 3rd day of the 4th month of the 3rd season, that is to say one month earlier. Thus, the stela is dated on the day after the god's birthday, or more probably on the actual birthday, Mariette having perhaps read "day 4" for "day 3." This, then, was the 400th anniversary of a king who was ancestor of Rameses II, and yet whose names are simply those of the god Set, the Reed- and Hornet-name being *Apehti* (Coptic *Apahie*), "Most Mighty" (a word sometimes written with the Set-sign  as a determinative), and the name as Son of the Sun-god being *Nubi* or *Nubti*, the title of Set as god of Ombos. In other words, the stela commemorates a king who came to the throne in about 1640 B.C., i.e. 400 years before 1240 B.C., who was ancestor of the family of Rameses II, and who had a name which was later confused with that of the god Set, so that Rameses II came to regard himself as descended from the god himself who had worn the crown of Upper Egypt in the person of this Pharaoh. Now, scarabs belonging to the period of the Seventeenth Dynasty have been found inscribed with the name of a king Pehnubre or Pehtinubre, and another scarab

gives the name Nubire, which may well belong to the same king; and these names are so similar to those of the divine ancestor recorded on the stela, that one may perhaps identify them. In that case this King Pehtinubre-Nubire must have had some traditional connection with the god Set, and it may be that he came from the city of Nubi (Ombos), north of Thebes, where Set was patron deity.

Since the Hyksos kings also worshipped Set in his Asiatic form Sutekh, it might be argued that this Pehtinubre belonged to the Sixteenth (Hyksos) Dynasty. But at the time of Rameses II these foreigners were spoken of as "Filth," and their memory, as has been said, was abhorred; and thus it is obviously to a native Egyptian king of the Seventeenth Dynasty that Rameses II refers.

Nothing else is known of this monarch, who, since he was the earliest ancestor to whom the royal family of the Nineteenth Dynasty could trace their descent, seems thus to have come to be regarded as a manifestation of the god of Nubi, his birthplace, in the flesh; but he may well have been a ruler of strong character who brought back some sort of law and order into Upper Egypt. One is to suppose that he had to pay tribute to the Hyksos king at Memphis, but that otherwise he was more or less independent. I have allowed him a reign of 10 years in my chronology.

DYN. XVII. SMAKERE, MOSEKHEPERRE, NEBKHEPERENRE,  
AND SENEFERENRE

1630-1615 B.C.



The following four kings of about this period, who seem to belong to the southern dynasty, have left their names on scarabs: Smakere, "Uniting the Spirit of the Sun-god"; Mosekheperre, "Born of the Creation of the Sun-god"; Nebkheperenre, "Lord of the Creation of the Sun-god"; and Seneferenre, "The Gratification of the Sun-god." Nothing is known of them; but the style of the names of the third and fourth links them to the kings of the end of the dynasty of whom I am about to write, while the fact that a scarab inscribed with the name of the third was found at Abydos indicates that he was an Upper Egyptian, and not a Hyksos,

Pharaoh. I have allowed a period of 20 years for their rule—an average of 5 years each. A bronze dagger of about this period bears the inscription: "Son of the Sun-god, Bebiengk" (*Archæologia*, liii, 93), and this may well be the personal name of one of these four kings. It must be understood, of course, that there is very little to direct us in assigning these obscure Pharaohs either to the Sixteenth Dynasty in Lower Egypt or to the Seventeenth in Upper Egypt: the reader, in fact, should study the tables on pages 232, 233, and, being guided by the style and *provenance* of the scarabs (which are well listed in Petrie's *History*, Vol. I, 257-63), he may make whatever rearrangements he likes within the limits of the better assured beginning and end of these two contemporaneous lines.

# DYN. XVII. SEKHENTHENRE, AND SENAKHTENRE TAUOE

1614-1601 B.C.

There are two other Pharaohs of the Seventeenth Dynasty whose position is not exactly known. The one was named Sekhentienre, meaning "Causing the chieftainship of the Sun-god," and the other was Senakhtenre, "Causing the strength of the Sun-god," whose personal name was probably Tauoe, as will be shown on page 212. The name Senakhtenre is found in the Karnak List, which indicates that he was an ancestor of Thutmose III of the Eighteenth Dynasty, whose forefathers are recorded in this list. Usually these two kings are regarded as one person (in spite of the fact that both names are obviously Reed- and Hornet-names) and are placed after the reign of Kemose (page 220) and before that of Ahmose (page 241); but I found the names of Kemose and Ahmose written together on a rock in Lower Nubia (Weigall, *Lower Nubia*, LXV), which seems to show that there was no other king between them. On the other hand, in the tomb of Khebakhnet (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iii, 2a), where a list of kings is given, the name Sekhentienre comes between those of Kemose and Ahmose. Thus the problem is difficult to elucidate, but there is really no room for either of them after Kemose; and therefore I prefer to place both before the famous Seqenenre, and to regard Senakhtenre as the father of Seqenenre, since, being recorded

in the Karnak List, he seems to have been in the direct line of descent, and to have been an ancestor of Thutmose III. In this case he was the husband of Queen Totisheri, the mother of of Seqenenre (page 213). An altar, now at Marseilles (Maspero, *Cat. 3; Recueil*, xiii, 146), gives both names, Sekhentienre and Senakhtenre. The name Sekhentienre is sometimes written with the hieroglyph  *neb*, instead of  *en*, but as the same variation occurs in the Throne-name of Thutmose II we may disregard it.

Before dealing with the next king of the Seventeenth Dynasty, Seqenenre, we must consider the reign of his Hyksos contemporary of the Sixteenth Dynasty.

#### DYN. XVI. OEQENENRE APOPI

1596-1577 B.C.

It will be remembered that the last three Hyksos kings of the Sixteenth Dynasty to be recorded (page 204) were named Oehotpere, Oeneterre, and Oesehre. Now, there are several relics of the reign of a Hyksos king whose Reed- and Hornet-name was Oeqenenre, "The Great-one, strengthening the Sun-god," whose Hawk-name was Sehoptetoui, "Pacifying the Two Lands," and whose personal name as Son of the Sun-god was Apopi; and the formation of the first name is so similar to that of Seqenenre of the Seventeenth Dynasty that it seems to have been copied from it. Seqenenre, as we shall presently see, was ruling at Thebes at about this time; and we may assume that this Oeqenenre was his contemporary, and therefore was that Apopi who made war upon him (page 216), and in the end was defeated and driven from Egypt. He reigned at Memphis and ruled the whole of the Delta, while the Egyptian line of the Seventeenth Dynasty reigned as vassal at Thebes and governed all Upper Egypt, the frontier between the two kingdoms being at some point south of Memphis.

In the temple of Pebast (Bubastis) this Pharaoh Apopi carried out elaborate works, for a fragmentary inscription was found there (Naville, *Bubastis*, xxxv) which mentions "many pillars and a door of brass" set up by a King Apopi who is to be identified with the monarch now under con-

sideration by his Hawk-name. This inscription is engraved upon a block of red granite quarried at Aswân, which fact indicates that Apopi used to obtain supplies of that stone as part of the tribute from the kingdom of the south, just as, in the case of the Ninth and Eleventh Dynasties, the king of the former line procured granite from his rival of the southern dynasty (Vol. I, page 272). The Hyksos king, in fact, was really the Overlord of the Pharaoh at Thebes, and his kingdom was probably better organized and more cultured than that of the south. A fine altar of black granite inscribed with Apopi's throne-name and Hawk-name is now in the Cairo Museum (Petrie, *History*, I, 265), having been found in Cairo. It is dedicated to "the god Set, Lord of Avaris," and the fact that it was found in Cairo is some indication that Avaris was not far away, the piece having been transported there in ancient times probably to be used as building material. This goes to show that the identification of Avaris with Tell el-Yehudiyeh, as explained on page 182, is correct. At Memphis King Apopi engraved his names on the shoulders of the statues of Mermeshoi, the Thirteenth Dynasty Pharaoh who had lived nearly three centuries before him (page 152), and there called himself "Beloved of the god Set." These statues were afterwards transported to Tanis by Rameses II of the Nineteenth Dynasty, where they were found. A sphinx at Ismailiyeh, found at Tell Maskhuta, bears an erased inscription which Petrie thinks may have been engraved by this king (Petrie, *History*, I, 265). There is a bronze dagger in the possession of Mr. H. A. Corble, inscribed with this king's name (*Journal*, xi, 216); but there is no evidence to show where it came from. There is also a fragment of a large vase inscribed with his name now in Berlin (No. 20366). A statue now in the Louvre, afterwards appropriated by Amenhotpe III of the Eighteenth Dynasty, may have belonged to this Apopi (Wiedemann, *Geschichte*, 295). On it there is a list of 36 conquered Nubian tribes, which was written there either by Apopi or Amenhotpe: if the former, it may have reference to the war with Sequenre who perhaps employed troops drawn from these tribes. But the story of Apopi's war with Sequenre must be told later, after we have recorded the reign of the latter king.



DYN. XVII. SEQENENRE TAUOE OR TAUOEQEN  
1600-1586 B.C.

We now return to the Seventeenth Dynasty, that line of vigorous native Egyptian kings who were reigning in Upper Egypt as vassals of the tottering throne of the Hyksos of Lower Egypt. With this section of the History of the Pharaohs we reach firm ground once more, and the obscurity of the middle part of the Seventeenth Dynasty is left behind. There now ascended the throne of Thebes a king who assumed the Reed- and Hornet-name Seqenenre, "Rallying, or Emboldening the Sun-god." His name as Son of the Sun-god was Tauoe, which means literally "The Great-one of Sacrificial Bread," perhaps signifying that his parents had regarded his birth as the answer to their prayers and oblations to the gods. In the later years of his reign, when the greatness of his rule was recognized, this name Tauoe was enlarged to Tauoe-oe, "Tauoe the Great," and "Tauoe-qen, "Tauoe the Victorious." The length of his reign is not known, but we may perhaps assign him 15 years; and a reference to the table on page 233 will show that he probably ascended the throne of Thebes about 1600 B.C., when his Hyksos overlord, Oeqenenre Apopi, had already ruled the Delta from his residence at Memphis for some years.

It used to be thought that there were three Pharaohs of the name of Tauoe: (i) Seqenenre Tauoe, (ii) Seqenenre Tauoe-oe, and (iii) Seqenenre Tauoe-qen; and that at any rate there were two seemed to be proved by the report of the tomb-inspectors of the Twentieth Dynasty preserved in the Abbott Papyrus, who state that they examined "the tomb of King Seqenenre, Son of the Sun-god Tauoe," and also "the tomb of King Seqenenre, Son of the Sun-god, Tauoe-oe, the second King Tauoe." Winlock has pointed out, however, that the inspectors had probably misread the Throne-name of the first of these two kings as Seqenenre instead of Senakhenre (page 209), both kings being called Tauoe, but having slightly different throne-names (*Journal*, x, 217). There is only one Seqenenre recorded in the Karnak List, and the coffin and mummy of only one Seqenenre have been found. Moreover, the queen of Tauoe is known to have been named Ahhotpe,

and the queen of Tauoe-qen is also Ahhotpe, so that if there was more than one king of the name of Sequenenre there must also have been more than one queen of the name of Ahhotpe. It is also to be observed that the tomb-inspectors, in the above-mentioned document, speak of two kings of the name of Tauoe, but not two of the name of Sequenenre. But the chief argument in favour of one king rather than three is the fact that there is no instance in Egyptian history of two successive kings, let alone three, having the same throne-name. There might be three kings of the name of Tauoe, but there could not be more than one of the name of Sequenenre, for each king assumed at his coronation an individual Reed- and Hornet-name which might be revived at a later date, but never by his successor.

The king's body which is now in the Cairo Museum shows him to have been about 35 years of age at his death (Elliot Smith, *Cat. Cairo Museum, Royal Mummies*, 2); and therefore, if he reigned 15 years, he must have been about 20 when he came to the throne. He was a man of Upper Egyptian race, somewhat dark and wiry, about 5 foot 8 inches in height, broad-shouldered, and having a large, clever-looking head. His face was clean-shaven, but his head was not shaved, his dark, curly hair being still thick at the time of his death, though cut fairly short. As I have suggested on page 209, he seems to have been the son of the Pharaoh Senakhtenre, but though this is uncertain there is no doubt that his mother was Queen Totisheri, of whom there is a nice little statuette in the British Museum, discovered at Thebes (Weigall, *Ancient Egy. Works of Art*, 123). It is possible that this Totisheri, whose parents are known by the names Tenna and Nofru (*Annales*, ix, 137), but who was evidently a great and important lady in the dynastic genealogy, was the heiress of a princely family resident at the city of Ekhnunenu (the modern Eshmunên), the capital of the Hare Province, for there is no doubt that Sequenenre and his descendants have close connections with that district. The names Ahmose, "Child of the Moon," and Ahhotpe, "Contentment of the Moon," now appear in the family, and Ah (or Aoh), the Moon or Moon-god, is identical with Thoth (Thut), the god of Wisdom, who was the patron deity of Ekhnunenu; and a little later the name Thutmose, "Child of Thoth," is used in the dynasty. The name Kemose,

"Child of the Bull," also now appears, and Ke, "The Bull," is a god of Wisdom identified with Thoth; while the fact that Kemose is a name used in the Ekhnunenu district is shown by a stela commemorating an official of that name which was found in that neighbourhood (Petrie, *History*, II, 15). King Kemose (page 220) describes himself as "Son of the god Ah and born of the god Thoth," the deities of Ekhnunenu; and in the old Egyptian chronicle of Castor, the Eighteenth Dynasty, which was descended from Seqenenre, is described as Hermopolite, i.e. of Hermopolis Magna, the Greek name of Ekhnunenu. It will be remembered that in the reign of Sesusri III of the Twelfth Dynasty the princely family of Ekhnunenu were a great power in the land (page 101); and some of the descendants of this house may have become Pharaohs in the Thirteenth and Seventeenth Dynasties, thus passing their blood on to Seqenenre. It should be noticed that this connection with Ekhnunenu, which is situated between the Fayûm and Assiout, indicates that the whole of Upper Egypt was included in Seqenenre's kingdom.

King Ahmose, founder of the Eighteenth Dynasty, and son of Seqenenre, has left us a stela on which he tells us how he made a memorial pyramid at Abydos for Queen Totisheri (*Abydos*, III, 45), and he speaks of her as being the mother of his mother, and the mother of his father, which means that she was the mother both of Seqenenre and of that king's wife Ahhotpe, brother and sister marriages at that time being customary in the royal family. This Ahhotpe, daughter of Totisheri, was perhaps some five years younger than her brother Seqenenre whom she married, for there is a stela of a certain Iufi (*Recueil*, ix, 92) which seems to show that she was still alive in the early years of the reign of Thutmose I, who came to the throne in 1526 B.C. This is not improbable for Seqenenre, her husband and brother, was, as has already been said, about 35 at his death in 1585 B.C., and if she was then about 30 she would have been about 89 at the accession of Thutmose I. Another stela of a certain Kerres mentions her as living in the 10th year of Amenhotpe I, 1542 B.C., when she would have been about 74. I will speak of her death and burial in its proper place (page 275); but in connection with Seqenenre we must think of her as a young

woman. She was married to him, I suppose, when she was about 15 years of age, and he was about 20, which would be just at his accession. The eldest daughter of a Pharaoh was regarded as the heiress of the kingdom, and it was the custom for one of her brothers who had been chosen as heir to the throne to marry her in order to consolidate his claim ; and so it was in the case of Sequenre and Ahhotpe. It is a common belief that such marriages lead to insanity in the offspring of the union, but the fact of the matter is that they simply double the good or bad tendencies in the physical and mental character. If there be any mental weakness or physical fault, that fault is likely to be doubled in the children ; but, I fancy, so also may the good qualities be doubled. In the western world of to-day a union between a brother and sister, so horrifying to our ideas, would in itself indicate a certain degree of insanity in the couple, and hence the insanity of the children of such a union would be accounted for by the doubling of this abnormal tendency. But where a marriage of this kind was customary, as in the Pharaonic royal house, no mental abnormality is to be looked for in the parents, and therefore no insanity in the offspring need be presupposed ; and actually there is no evidence to show that these inter-marriages in ancient Egypt produced degenerate children.

The first child of Sequenre and Ahhotpe was a son, named Ahmose, and the second was a daughter, also called Ahmose, who seems to be the lady afterwards famous as the great Queen Ahmose-Nofretiri (or Nefertari). Ahmose, the eldest child, however, died when he was still a youth, and a statue was set up for him, the inscription on which states that it was made for him by his father King Sequenre, his mother Queen Ahhotpe, and his sister, Ahmose (*Recueil*, xi, 159). Another statue of this prince used to be in the possession of Daninos Pasha, but is now lost (*Journal*, x, 203, where photos are shown). There are several other princes and princesses belonging to this period, but it cannot now be stated which of them were children of Sequenre and his sister-wife. There is, for instance, a throw-stick or boomerang (*Monuments Divers*, 51) inscribed with the royal name Sequenre and also with that of a King's Son named Tuiu ; but whether he was a son of Sequenre by Ahhotpe or by a second-

ary wife, or son of the previous king, is not apparent. Then, in the tomb of Khebekht (Lepsius: *Denkmäler*, III, 2A; Prisse, *Mon.*, pl. 3), there is a list of royalties: a King's Son, Binpu; a King's Son, Uthmose; a King's Son, Amenmose; a King's Son, Remose; a King's Son, Keneru (?); a King's Son, Ahmose; a King's Son, Kemose; a King's Wife, Setiribeu; and a King's Wife, Tekhredqe. Some of these may have been children of Seqenenre and Ahhotpe, and all of them may have been Seqenenre's children by different wives. It is certain, however, that Seqenenre and Ahhotpe had one son, again named Ahmose, who was only about 6 years of age when his father died, in 1585 B.C.; for this child ultimately ascended the throne as founder of the Eighteenth Dynasty, dying in 1552 B.C. at the age of about 40, as his mummy shows. This Ahmose was later married to his sister Ahmose-Nofretiri, who, as shown above, may have been some years his senior. The relationship to Seqenenre of the king who succeeded him, Kemose, is not known; but I will presently suggest that he was his brother, a son of the late king and of Queen Totisheri.

Apart from the statue of the eldest son who died, the only actual relics of the reign of Seqenenre which have come down to us are his coffin and mummy, found with many other royal bodies of later date in the royal hiding-place at Dêr el-Bahri (pp. 262, 294, etc.); a palette inscribed with his name, now in the Louvre (Champollion, *Monuments*, 191); and a seal (Petrie, *History*, II, 9). But, from a later source, we have a considerable amount of information regarding the outbreak of the war with the Hyksos King Apopi which led to his death. The popular story of this war, as it was known three or four centuries later in the Nineteenth Dynasty, has been preserved in part in the Sallier Papyrus in the British Museum (Birch, *Select Papyri*, I, pl. 2), and I give here the translation with some interpolated explanations.

"It happened that the Land of Egypt was possessed by the Filthy-ones (or the Plague-ridden, a word also meaning 'enemies' in general, and here signifying the Hyksos), and in those days there was no Lord and King (of the whole country). At that time (it is true) there was a King, Seqenenre, (but) he was (only) a *Hiq*-prince of the south country, and the Filthy-ones, (namely) the Bedouin (or Asiatic tribesmen),

were in the cities, and Apopi was *Sar*, (or ruler) in Haur (Avaris), and the whole country brought their produce to him with all the good things of the Land of Egypt. Now King Apopi made Set (or Sutekh) his divine Lord, and he served not any other god of the whole land except Sutekh. He built him a temple of fine workmanship (designed to last) for ever, and (this) King Apopi appointed feasts and days for the offering of sacrifices at every season to Sutekh, and the chief officers of the *Hig*-prince (Sequenre) used to come there with garlands of flowers, just as they had been wont to do in the (neighbouring) temple of Rehorakhti (at Heliopolis).

"Now King Apopi was thinking out the wording of a message to send to King Sequenre, the prince of the south-country (in order to pick a quarrel with him), and after many days King Apopi called to him his chiefs, his captains, and his (most) able officers; but they did not know what to say to King Sequenre, the prince of the south-country. King Apopi therefore sent for his wise men and scribes, and these said to him: 'O Lord, our Master, let this have your approval,' and they gave to King Apopi the wording which he desired. A messenger (they declared) should be sent to the Prince of the south-country, and should say to him, 'King Apopi sends to ask you to (refrain from hunting?) the hippopotami which are in the lakes and waterways of the country, so that they may let me sleep (undisturbed), for day and night the noise of their (complaint) is in my ear.'"

There is here a break in the papyrus, and the sentences that can be read are difficult to understand. Hunting hippopotami was one of the favourite sports of the Egyptian Pharaohs and nobles, but these creatures were sacred to the god Set, and therefore Apopi was to say that he could not sleep for thought of the sacrilege constantly committed by Sequenre and his people. This would put the southern king in a quandary, and would oblige him to declare himself to be opposed to the Set-religion. In fact, so a fragmentary sentence seems to say, Apopi would thus find that Sequenre "would not pay respect to any god in the Land of Egypt except Amon-Re, King of the gods" (the patron deity of Thebes). The story then goes on thus:—

"After several days King Apopi sent to the Prince of the

south-country the message which the scribes and wise men had told him (to send); and when the messenger whom King Apopi had despatched reached the Prince of the south-country, he was brought before that Prince, who said to him, 'What brings you to the south-country, and why have you made this journey?' To this the messenger replied, 'King Apopi has sent me to you, in regard to the waters of the hippopotami which are in this country; for (he says) they permit me no sleep, for day and night the noise of them is in my ear.' Then the Prince of the south-country was troubled, for he knew not how to answer the messenger of King Apopi. At length the Prince of the south-country said to him, 'This matter on which your master has sent you . . .'" (Here there is another break in the papyrus.) . . . "The Prince of the south-country then gave the messenger all kinds of good things, meat and bread . . . (and he said to him), 'In regard to all this that you have said, I intend . . .'" Here there is another break.) "Then the messenger of King Apopi took his departure, and returned to the place where his master was; but the Prince of the south-country called to him his great chiefs, his captains, and his (most) able generals, and he told them all these matters about which King Apopi had sent to him. And they were silent with one accord, and were much troubled, for they did not know how to reply, either well or ill. Then King Apopi sent (again) . . ."

Here the papyrus finally breaks off, and we do not know how Apopi managed to force a war upon Seqenenre; but it seems that the quarrel was of a religious kind, and that this difference of opinion in regard to the sanctity of the hippopotami was the actual *casus belli*. Manetho only tells us that "the Kings of Thebes and of the other provinces of Egypt made an insurrection against the Hyksos, and a long and mighty war was carried on between them;" but it seems that at first Apopi was the victor, for Seqenenre was killed, and the war was continued all through the reign of Kamose, and on into that of Ahmose.

How King Seqenenre met his death is not known. His mummy presents a terrible sight, for the head is covered with wounds; but Prof. Elliot Smith's reconstruction of the tragedy (*Cat. Cairo Mus., Royal Mummies*) only shows us

that he was lying upon a low bed or on the ground, on his right side, when he was attacked; that his assailants came at him from the left side, striking down at him with various weapons as he lay, and that he did not defend himself, for his arms were uninjured. Possible he was asleep in his camp, when a surprise attack was made, and he was killed before he awoke; or perhaps a first wound, received in battle, felled him to the ground, and the others were inflicted while he lay unconscious. We shall never know; and, indeed, it is possible, though not likely, that he was assassinated while he slept in his palace, and that the war with the Hyksos had nothing to do with his death. All that we can see for ourselves is that a battle-axe has crashed through the upper part of his forehead, leaving a hole two inches long and the hair matted with blood around it; another blow from an axe has cut into the brain above the right eye; a dagger- or sword-thrust has pierced through the left cheek; a spear has been driven into the left side of the head, just below the ear; and a blunt instrument such as a mace or a stick has smashed the right eye and its socket to pulp and broken the bony part of the nose. The face is agonized: the upper lip is drawn up to the right and the lower lip down to the left, thus exposing the clenched teeth which have bitten through the tongue; and the hands are convulsed and clawing.

His body seems to have grown stiff before it was recovered or tended, for the head has been left bent to one side, and the hands have not been straightened, nor have the features of the face been smoothed, nor the wounds properly washed. It looks as though the Egyptians had been in retreat and had carried the body of their dead king with them, but had been unable to stop to tend it. At length, however, a rough attempt at embalming it was made, and it was swathed in bandages which were not again removed when at last it was prepared for burial. Quite possibly the retreating Egyptians, with Apopi's Asiatics at their heels, deposited the body in some temporary tomb at Thebes, and continued their flight into Nubia, the distracted royal family going with them; and it was only when they were able to return to the capital that the funeral took place in the pyramid which the king had made for himself in the Theban necropolis, but by then there



seemed little reason to do more for the dead man than to tidy up the wrappings and to place him in a proper coffin.

DYN. XVII. UTHKHEPERRE KEMOSE

1585-1577 B.C.

The eldest surviving son of the dead Pharaoh was Ahmose a child who could not have been more than six years of age at the time of the tragedy, since his mummy shows him to have been about 40 at his death in 1551 B.C. But this was no time for the throne to be occupied by an infant, and therefore the crown was offered to Prince Kemose, who, I think, must have been a brother of Sequenre, and in the prime of life. If he had been a son of Sequenre, as is generally supposed, he, too, would have now been but an infant, and he would have still been a boy when he died a few years later, which is improbable in view of the fact that a heavy battle-axe and spear belonging to him have been found. Indeed, he seems to have acted more as a regent to the young Ahmose than as a Pharaoh ruling alone; for near Toshkeh in Lower Nubia I found the names of both Kemose and Ahmose written together on a cliff, as though they were reigning jointly (Weigall, *Lower Nubia*, LXV). Probably at this time the whole court had fled here into these far-off reaches of the Nile, between the First and the Second Cataract, just as the Mamelukes fled before Mohammed Ali and came to a halt in that very place. It is quite likely that Kemose married Sequenre's widow, Ahhotpe, in order to strengthen his position; for objects inscribed with his name were found in the coffin of that lady.

On coming to the throne he took the Reed- and Hornet-name Uthkheperre, "Raising up or prospering the Creation or Being of the Sun-god." The word *Uth* comes from a root meaning "Greenness" in a "spring-tide" sense—the shooting up of the crops, the renewal of the earth's abundance, the rising again of the tide of prosperity; and it was therefore an appropriate word to use in his name. As Hawk-king he called himself Setheftoui, "Feeding, or Providing for, the Two Lands"; and as Son of the Sun-god his personal name, Kemose, was used, meaning "Child of the god Ke," the Bull-god who was a form of Thoth. In one inscription (British

Museum, axe-head, No. 5241a) he is called *Pe Hiq Qen*, "the valiant *Hiq*-prince"; and on the blade of a spear belonging to him (*Archæologia*, liii, 84) there is an inscription reading "The Good God, Lord and Maker of (all) things, Uthkheperre (says): 'I am a valiant *Hiq*-prince, beloved of the Sun-god, Son of the Moon-god, and born of the god Thoth; Son of the Sun-god, Kemose, for ever powerful.'"

After an exile of three years, King Kemose once more determined to attack the Asiatics, and a fragmentary inscription on a writing-tablet has been found, which gives some account of his success (Carnarvon and Carter: *Five Years' Explorations*, 36; translation corrected by Gardiner, *Journal*). It is dated in "Year 3" of Kemose, and begins by saying that his Majesty was speaking to his council of nobles, and exclaimed: "'To what purpose is my power, when one Prince is in Avaris and the other in Kush (the Sudan)? I sit (here) linked with an Asiatic (on one side) and a negro (on the other), while every man holds his own slice of this Egypt. He who shares this land with me (i.e. King Apopi), I do not concede (?) him the river of Egypt as far as Memphis; yet see, he holds Ekhmunenu (Eshmunên 50 miles north of Assiout), and no man rests (there), but is tired out with serving the Asiatics. I will grapple with him, and rip him open, for my desire is to deliver Egypt, and to strike at the Asiatics.' And the nobles of the council said, 'Indeed, the Asiatics have advanced as far as Cusae (El-Kusiye, 30 miles north of Assiout), and they have put out their tongues all together (at us). (However,) we are at ease holding this one part of Egypt. Iebo (Elephantine) is strong, and the midland is with us as far as Cusae. . . . These words were painful to the heart of his Majesty, and (he said), 'As to this advice of yours . . . , I am going to fight with the Asiatics. Success will come. . . .'"

Then, after a long gap, the king proceeds: "'I sailed downstream victoriously to drive back the Asiatics, by the command of Amon. The plans of my army succeeded, for every warrior was before me like a flame of fire, and the troops of the Mazoi advanced beyond our lines, to search out the Asiatics and to destroy their positions. East and west, (we) were victorious, the army rejoicing at each thing in turn. Then I despatched a strong force of the Mazoi, while I spent the

day (preparing ?) to surround (that enemy) Toti, the son of Piopi in Nofrusi (north of Eshmunên) ; for I was not going to allow him to escape. I defeated the Asiatics who had encroached upon Egypt . . . and (on that occasion) I spent the night on board my ship, my heart rejoicing, and when day dawned I pounced on him like a hawk. I overthrew him at the moment when he was perfuming his mouth (i.e. shaving ? or cleaning his teeth ?) ; I knocked down his walls ; I slaughtered his people ; and I made his wife go down to the river bank. My soldiers were like wolves with their prey. . . .”

From this precious fragment we see that Kemose had recruited a negro army of the famous fighting Mazoi, and, coming out of his exile, had made a triumphal advance to a point north of Eshmunên, defeating an Egyptian petty king who had sided with Apopi. This personage is perhaps the same man who, under the name Totien, was defeated and killed by Ahmose I (page 245). Thus, already in the 3rd year of the reign, the main part of Upper Egypt had been reconquered from the invaders, and the prospects of a final success for the Egyptians were bright, and the days of defeat and exile were over. In the year 1576 B.C. the young Prince Ahmose must have been just about 16 years of age, judging by the fact that he was about 40 at the time of his death in 1551 B.C. Now, Egyptian youths came of age at 16, and were probably married at or soon after that time ; and since it was in this year that Ahmose came to the throne, one is tempted to think that he then married his sister Ahmose-Nofretiri, the heiress of the kingdom, and, having thus assured his right to the throne both by his coming of age and his marriage to the royal heiress, claimed the crown, and obliged his uncle Kemose to retire from the kingship which, indeed, the latter had only assumed as a sort of regent during the infancy of Ahmose. But, in spite of the coincidence of it, I suppose one must assume, in the absence of definite information, that Kemose very conveniently died in this year, thus leaving the crown to his nephew. He was buried in a pyramid at Thebes near those of his ancestors, and this pyramid was inspected by the officials of the Twentieth Dynasty, who have left their report to us in the Abbott Papyrus, which reads : “ The tomb of King Uthkheperure, Son of the Sun-god, Kemose,

was inspected on this day, and was found to be intact." The entry follows immediately after those recording the inspection of the two pyramids of Seqenenre. His coffin is now in the Cairo Museum (Maspero, *Guide*, No. 1186), but his body is lost.

The tomb of Queen Ahhotpe, widow of Seqenenre and possibly wife also of Kemose, must have been close to this pyramid, or perhaps it even formed part of it; and there she was laid to rest when she died many years later. Some time after the Twentieth Dynasty, however, when the robbery of the royal tombs was general, her coffin was taken from the sepulchre by pious hands and hidden away in the sand, where it was found in modern times, as related on page 275. Several objects inscribed with the name of King Kemose were found loose in this coffin; and it is to be supposed, therefore, either that they formed part of her original funerary equipment, in which case the inference is that she had been married to him after her first husband's death, or else that the priests who hid her coffin also hid the coffin of Kemose, and mixed up the objects from the two burials. Be this as it may, the discovery of the coffin of Ahhotpe has given to us the following objects inscribed with the name of Kemose:—A small sacred boat, resting upon a four-wheeled carriage, and having in it the figures of twelve oarsmen, a helmsman and a pilot—the whole thing being made of gold; a fly-flap which was part of the Pharaonic regalia; bronze battle-axes; a bronze dagger; and a spear-head.

With the death or retirement of Kemose the Seventeenth Dynasty came to an end, Ahmose being regarded as the founder of the Eighteenth Dynasty. This division, however, is an arbitrary arrangement made by Manetho, who began the new dynasty here because it was Ahmose who finally defeated and expelled the Hyksos; but actually there was no break in the royal line, Ahmose being the son of Seqenenre. I must here interrupt the story, however, in order to place before the reader a table of the kings of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, Fifteenth, Sixteenth, and Seventeenth Dynasties, so that this somewhat confused period may be the better understood, and so that it may be seen how the multitude of kings of this epoch all drop into their known or suggested places between the fixed dates 1898 and 1576 B.C.

Year B.C.	Year of Dyn. XIII	THIRTEENTH DYNASTY.	Year Re gn.	Year of Dyn. XIV.	FOURTEENTH DYNASTY.
1898	1	Khetouire Ugef	1		
1897	2		2		
1896	3		3		
1895	4	Sekhemkere	1		
1894	5		2		
1893	6		3		
1892	7		4		
1891	8		5		
1890	9		6		
1889	10	<i>Twelve ephemeral kings. —</i> ..... re-Amenemhet ; Sehotpeibre Amenemhet ; Iufni ; Senkhibre Amen- Intef Amenemhet ; Smen- kere ; Sehotpeibre ; Noth- emkere ; Sekhemsmen- ire Thuti ; Amenemhet ; Nothemibre ; Sobkhotpere ; and Rensonb. <i>Total about 12 years.</i> <i>Northern Delta lost.</i>			
1888	11				
1887	12				
1886	13				
1885	14				
1884	15				
1883	16				
1882	17				
1881	18				
1880	19				
1879	20				
1878	21				
1877	22	Fuibre Herwet	1		
1876	23		2		
1875	24		3		
1874	25	Sethf.....re Sekhemkhetouire Amenemhet Sobkhotpe	4		
1873	26		1		
1872	27		1		
1871	28		2		
1870	29		3		
1869	30		4		

## FOURTEENTH DYNASTY.

*Rebellion of Northern Delta*  
 Sehebre proclaimed king in  
 Northern Delta

Merthefere

Sonbkere  
 Hrunebthefere

Ubenre

1868	31	Smenkhkhere Mermeshoi	1	12	(Lost king)	Year of Dyn. XV.	FIFTEENTH DYNASTY.	Year of Reign.
1867	32		2	13		1	Hyksos invasion	1
1866	33		3	14		2	Salatis proclaimed king	2
1865	34	Hotpekere	4	15		3	(His kingdom was the Eastern Delta)	3
1864	35	Kesetre Ren....seur	1	16		4		4
1863	36	Sekhemseuthouire Sobkhotpe	1	17	(Lost king)	5		5
1862	37		2	18		6		6
1861	38		3	19		7		7
1860	39	Khesekhemre Neferhotpe	1	20	.....therefore	8		8
1859	40		2	21		9		9
1858	41		3	22		10		10
1857	42		4	23		11		11
1856	43		5	24		12		12
1855	44		6	25	Ubenre	13		13
1854	45		7	26		14		14
1853	46		8	27		15		15
1852	47		9	28		16		16
1851	48	(Sihathorre co-regent)	10	29	Fuibre	17		17
1850	49	(Kheneferre co-regent. 1)	11	30		18		18
1849	50	Kheneferre Sobkhotpe	2	31		19		19
1848	51		3	32		20		20
1847	52		4	33	Heribre	21		21
1846	53		5	34		22		22
1845	54		6	35		23		23
1844	55		7	36		24		24
1843	56		8	37	Nebsenre	25		25
1842	57		9	38				
1841	58	(Kheenkhere co-regent. 1)	10	39				
1840	59	Kheenkhere Sobkhotpe	2	40				
1839	60		3	41	(Lost king)			
1838	61		4	42				
1837	62		5	43				
1836	63	Menuthre and Neferenkhere	1	44				
1835	64	Khehotpere Sobkhotpe	1	45	(Lost king)			
1834	65		2	46				
1833	66		3	47				

Year. B.C.	Year of Dyn. XIII.	THIRTEENTH DYNASTY.	Year of Reign.	Year of Dyn. XIV.	FOURTEENTH DYNASTY.	Year of Dyn. XV.	FIFTEENTH DYNASTY.	Year of Reign.
1832	67	Wahibre Ieuib	4	48	(Lost king)	26		7
1831	68		5	49		27		8
1830	69		1	50		28		9
1829	70		2	51		29		10
1828	71		3	52		30		11
1827	72		4	53	(Lost king)	31	Apachnas	1
1826	73		5	54		32		2
1825	74		6	55		33		3
1824	75		7	56		34		4
1823	76		8	57		35		5
1822	77	Merneferre Ay	9	58	Sekheperenre	36	(Hyksos ruled only in Eastern Delta)	6
1821	78		10	59		37		7
1820	79		1	60		38		8
1819	80		2	61		39		9
1818	81		3	62		40		10
1817	82		4	63	Dedkherure	41		11
1816	83		5	64		42		12
1815	84		6	65		43		13
1814	85		7	66		44		14
1813	86		8	67		45		1
1812	87	(Thirteenth Dynasty becomes southern vassal of Hyksos)	9	68	Thetumre (Fourteenth Dynasty becomes northern vassal of Hyksos) Sekhem.....re	46	Apophis (Oeusre Apopi) Apopi conquers all Egypt	2
1811	88		10	69		47		3
1810	89		11	70		48		4
1809	90		12	71		49		5
1808	91		13	72		50		6
1807	92		14	73	Ke.....re	51		7
1806	93		15	74		52		8
1805	94		16	75		53		9
1804	95		17	76		54		10
1803	96		18	77		55		11
1802	97		19	78	A.....re	56		12
1801	98		20	79		57		13
1800	99		21	80		58		14
1799	100		22	81		59		15
					Enkhkere		(Apopi overlord of all Egypt)	





Year of Dyn. XIII. B.C.	THIRTEENTH DYNASTY.	Year of Dyn. XIV. Reign.	FOURTEENTH DYNASTY.	Year of Dyn. XV.	FIFTEENTH DYNASTY.	Year of Dyn. Regn.
1761	Merkheperre		Iu.....	97		17
1760	Khekere		Set.....	98		18
1759	Sesousrtouire		Senu....	99		19
1758	Seutheure and ....besu		Her.....	100		20
1757	Nebmaetre Ibi and ....ubeure		Inb.....	101		21
1756	Merkeure Sobkhotpe	1	Smerensobk	102		22
1755	Maetre Sobkhotpe	2	Pennsetintsept...	103		23
1754	Nemaetenkhe Khenzer	1	(Some lost kings)	104		24
1753		2		105		25
1752		3		106		26
1751	Uskhere Khenzer		Seb.....re	107		27
1750	Menkheure Seshib		Men.....re	108		28
1749	Sekhemibrtouire		....wahre	109		29
1748	Nehesire and Khethire		.....ke....	110		30
1747	Nebfure		(Two lost kings)	111		31
1746	Thirteenth Dynasty sup- pressed	1	Fourteenth Dynasty sup- pressed	112		32
1745				113	Khyan suppresses Thirteenth and Fourteenth Dynasties	33
1744				114		34
1743				115		35
1742				116		36
1741				117		37
1740				118		38
1739				119		39
1738				120		40
1737				121	(Khyan sole Pharaoh of all Egypt)	41
1736				122		42
1735				123		43
1734				124		44
1733				125		45
1732				126		46

(Khyan sole Pharaoh of all Egypt.)

Year of Dyn. XVII.	SEVENTEENTH DYNASTY.	Year of Reign.	127 128 129 130 131	127 128 129 130 131
1731				
1730				
1729				
1728				
1727	Death of Khyan. Dedhotpere Dudumose founds Seventeenth Dynasty in Upper Egypt ( <i>This king reigned south of Thebes</i> )	1	131	Assis (Ashshi) ( <i>Extrema south of Egypt now lost by Hyksos</i> )
1726		2	132	
1725		3	133	
1724		4	134	
1723		5	135	
1722		1	136	
1721	Dedenkhre	2	137	
1720		3	138	
1719		4	139	
1718		5	140	
1717	Dedenkhre Mentuemsuf	1	141	
1716		2	142	
1715	( <i>The dynasty now reigned at Thebes</i> )	3	143	( <i>Upper Egypt from Thebes southwards now lost by Hyksos</i> )
1714		4	144	
1713		5	145	
1712	Dedneferre Dudumose	1	146	
1711		2	147	
1710		3	148	
1709		4	149	
1708		5	150	
1707	Usrkhe....kheu Sobkemsuf	1	151	
1706		2	152	
1705	( <i>This king ruled as far north as Koptos</i> )	3	153	
1704		4	154	
1703		5	155	
1702		6	156	
1701		7	157	
1700		8	158	
1699		9	159	
1698		10	160	
1697	Sekhemuthkheure Sobkemsuf	1	161	( <i>Upper Egypt from Abydos southwards now lost by Hyksos</i> )
1696		2	162	

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1664	64		7	15	15
1663	65		8	16	16
1662	66		9	17	17
1661	67		10	18	18
1660	68	Sekhemwepmaetre Intefoe	1	19	19
1659	69		2	20	20
1658	70		3	21	1
1657	71		4	22	2
1656	72		5	23	3
1655	73		6	24	4
1654	74		7	25	5
1653	75		8	26	6
1652	76		9	27	7
1651	77		10	28	8
1650	78	Nubkheperure Intefoe	1	29	9
1649	79		2	30	10
1648	80		3	31	1
1647	81		4	32	2
1646	82		5	33	3
1645	83		6	34	4
1644	84		7	35	5
1643	85		8	36	6
1642	86		9	37	7
1641	87		10	38	8
1640	88	Pehintubre	1	39	9
1639	89		2	40	10
1638	90		3	41	11
1637	91		4	42	12
1636	92	(This king founded the second half of the Seven-	5	43	1
1635	93	teenth Dynasty in Upper Egypt)	6	44	2
1634	94		7	45	3
1633	95		8	46	4
1632	96		9	47	5

Nebkere

Nebshetre

(Contemporary with these Hyksos kings, perhaps  
in the Western Delta or in Middle Egypt, were  
the following :)

Nubuthre

Nubnefermaetre

Nubusre

Nubhotpere

Nubsekhemre

Nubhetre

Nubibra

Nubenkhe

Nubdede

Nubnerferre

Nubkere

Shetfounubre

Year B.C.	Year of Dyn. XVII.	SEVENTEENTH DYNASTY.	Year of Dyn. XVI.	SIXTEENTH DYNASTY.	Year of Reign.
1631	97	Snakere	10	Shehotpere	1
1630	98		1		2
1629	99		2		3
1628	100		3		4
1627	101	Mosekheperre	4	Oehotpere	5
1626	102		1		1
1625	103		2		2
1624	104		3		3
1623	105	Nebkheperenre	4	Oenebre	4
1622	106		1		5
1621	107		2		1
1620	108		3		2
1619	109	Seneferenre	4	Oeneterre	3
1618	110		1		4
1617	111		2		5
1616	112		3		1
1615	113	Sekhentienre	4		2
1614	114		1		3
1613	115		2		4
1612	116		3		5
1611	117	Senakhtenre Taoué	4		6
1610	118		1		7
1609	119		2		8
1608	120		3		9
1607	121		4	Oesehre	10
1606	122		5		1
1605	123		6		2
1604	124		7		3
1603	125		8		4
1602	126		9		5
1601	127		10		6

1600	128	Sequenre Taoué	1	79		7
1599	129		2	80		8
1598	130		3	81		9
1597	131		4	82		10
1596	132		5	83		1
1595	133		6	84		2
1594	134		7	85		3
1593	135		8	86		4
1592	136		9	87		5
1591	137		10	88		6
1590	138		11	89		7
1589	139		12	90		8
1588	140		13	91		9
1587	141		14	92		10
1586	142		15	93		11
1585	143	Great war with Sixteenth Dynasty begins	1	94		12
1584	144	Sequenre killed. Uthkheperre Kemose	2	95		13
1583	145		3	96		14
1582	146		4	97		15
1581	147		5	98		16
1580	148		6	99		17
1579	149		7	100		18
1578	150		8	101		19
1577	151		9	102		20
1576	1	Accession of Ahmose, Foundation of Eighteenth Dynasty	1	103	Expulsion of Apopi and Hyksos. End of Sixteenth Dynasty	

## CHAPTER VI

### THE REIGNS OF THE FIRST FOUR PHARAOHS OF THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY: AHMOSE, AMENHOTPE I, THUTMOSE I, AND THUTMOSE II

1576-1494 B.C.

#### THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY

THE chronology of the Eighteenth Dynasty has provided a puzzle which has for long exercised the brains of Egyptologists; but I do not think that the simple solution of the problem which is here presented will be able to be upset to any noticeable extent. It is impossible to be absolutely accurate, of course, because the ancient observations of the astronomical events which check our figures are in themselves uncertain within a year, owing to our lack of knowledge as to the locality and conditions of their making; and, further, since the ancient calendar-reckoning lost one year in every 1,500 years, the years of the reigns and the actual years B.C. are not exactly concurrent. But with this qualification, the figures here given may be regarded as pretty well final.

The following table, which is carried down to the reign of Rameses I, founder of the Nineteenth Dynasty, gives the list of the kings known to us from the monuments, against which are the kings and the lengths of their reigns in years and months as recorded by Josephus, who quotes them from Manetho in his *Contra Apion*, and then the same as quoted from Manetho by Africanus and Eusebius, and the Armenian version of the latter.

MONUMENTS.	JOSEPHUS.	AFRICANUS.	EUSEBIUS.	EUSEBIUS (ARMENIAN)
Ahmose	—	Amos —	Amosis, 25	Amoses, 25
Amenhotpe I	Tethmosis, 25, 4	—	—	—
Thutmose I	Chebron, 13	Chebros, 13	Chebron, 13	Chebron, 13
Thutmose II	Amenophis, 20, 7	Amenophis, 21 or 24	Ammenophis, 21	Amophis, 21
Hatshepsut	Amessis, his sister, 21, 9	Amensis, 22	—	—
Thutmose III	Mephres, 12, 9	Misaphris, 13	Miphres, 12	Mephres, 12
Amenhotpe II	Mephramutho- sis, 25, 10	Misphragmu- sis, 26	Misphragmu- thosis, 26	Misphramutho- sis, 26
Thutmose IV	Thmosis, 9, 8	Tuthmosis, 9	Tuthmosis, 9	Tuthmosis, 9
Amenhotpe III	Amenophis, 30, 10	Amenophis, 31	Amenophis, 31	Amenophis, 31
Akhnaton	Orus, 36, 5	Oros, 37	Oros, 36	Orus, 28
Smenkhkhere	Acencheres, 12, 1; his daughter	Acherres, 32	Achencheres, 12	Achencheres, 16
Tutenkhamon	Rathotis, her brother, 9	Rathos, 6	—	—
Ay	Acencheres, 12, 5	Chebres, 12	Acherres, 8	Ancheres, 8
	Acencheres, 12, 3	Acherres, 12	Cherres, 15	Cheres, 15
Horemheb	Armais, 4, 1	Armesses, 5	Armais, 5	Armais, 5
Rameses I	Ramesses, 1, 4	Ramesses, 1	—	—

Let us consider these kings one by one:—

**AHMOSE.** Josephus leaves him out, but the other versions of Manetho give him 25 years. There is a record dated in his 22nd year, so 25 is a likely figure for the length of the reign. The date of his death is fixed to about 1551 B.C. by the seasonal date for the rising of Sirius in the next reign; and the date of his accession is pretty certainly fixed to 1576 B.C. by the fact that the Seventeenth Dynasty lasted 151 years (page 191) and came to an end in that year, having most probably been established in 1727 B.C., the year of the death of Khyan, which, again, is a date fixed by the seasonal calculation explained on page 176. It would seem that as Ahmose and Amenhotpe I each reigned 25 years, Manetho has confused them into one king.

**AMENHOTPE I.** Manetho seems to have called Amenhotpe I 'Tethmosis,' and Thutmose II 'Amenophis' by mistake; but, having made the necessary adjustment of the names, we may accept the length of the reign as 25 years 4 months, proving the 25 years by reckoning back from the astronomically fixed dates of the reign of Thutmose III. Amenhotpe I must have come to the throne in about 1551 B.C. because in the Ebers Papyrus there is a statement that in the 9th year of his reign the rising of Sirius took place on the 9th day of the



3rd month of the 3rd season, which it did in 1543 B.C., or thereabouts.

THUTMOSE I. Manetho calls him Chebron, which is his reading of *Kheperen*, the throne name of Thutmose II (Oekheperenre), but here again he has mixed the names, for Thutmose II is known to have reigned at least 18 years (page 287). He gives Thutmose I a reign of 13 years, which is the figure required for him if we calculate back from the fixed dates of the reign of Thutmose III, and forward from the fixed dates of the reign of Amenhotpe I.

THUTMOSE II. Manetho gives him a reign of 20 years 7 months; and that he means Thutmose II is shown by his placing this reign immediately before that of Amessis, whom he describes as this king's sister. The 15th and 16th years of the reign are recorded (page 288), and the highest date recorded is the Year 18 (*Annales*, I, 99), which shows that Manetho's 13 years' reign of Khebron does not refer to Thutmose II.

HATSHEPSUT. Any doubt about Manetho's Amessis being identical with Hatshepsut is dismissed by his description of her as the sister of the previous king. He gives her a reign of 21 years 9 months, and that is the number of years required by the history of the wars of Thutmose III recorded in the Annals (page 335). The date of her accession is therefore fixed to 1493 B.C. or about that year.

THUTMOSE III. Manetho calls him Mephre(s), which is derived from the king's throne-name Menkheperre, and gives him a reign of 12 years and 9 months. This, however, is a mistake for 32 years and 6 months, for the biography of Amenemheb tells us that Thutmose III died on the last day of the 3rd month of the 2nd season (i.e. the 7th month) in the 54th year of his reign; that is to say, he reigned 53 years, and we know from his Annals that his sole reign began in the 22nd year of Hatshepsut's reign, which gives him exactly this 32 years, plus 6 months and 29 days. The actual years B.C. in this reign are fixed by the fact that moon-festivals are mentioned, which can be exactly calculated (pages 348 and 349).

AMENHOTPE II. Manetho calls this king Mephramuthosis, derived from Menkheperure Thutmosis, the name of the next king, with whom he has confused Amenhotpe II. He gives

him a reign of 25 years 10 months, and as the highest recorded year of the reign is the 26th, we may assume that that was the year of his death, and that he reigned therefore 25 years.

**THUTMOSE IV.** Manetho gives him 9 years and 8 months, and as the highest recorded date is Year 8, his figure may well be correct.

**AMENHOTPE III.** Manetho gives him a reign of 30 years 10 months. He actually reigned 36 years, but during the last 6 years he was ill or insane, and Queen Tiy was regent.

**AKHNATON.** Manetho, identifying him with his god Rehorakhti, calls him Orus (Horus), and gives him a reign of 36 years 5 months. This must be a mistake for 16 years 5 months, for he seems to have died in his 17th year, the highest recorded date in his reign. It is known that his religious revolution began in his 4th year, and Manetho, quoted by Josephus, speaks of the "13 fatal years" of his heresy.

**SMENKHKERE.** Manetho calls him Acenchere(s) in mistake, perhaps, for Smenchere(s). He married Akhnaton's daughter, and hence the description "his daughter." The length of the reign is given as 12 years and 1 month, but the 12 years is a mistake for 2 years, the length either of his co-regency with Akhnaton (page 241), or of his sole reign. If the former, then Tutankhamen reigned 9 years; if the latter, Tutankhamen reigned 7 years.

**TUTANKHAMEN.** Manetho calls him Rathot(is), based on Re-Tut, and describes him as brother of Akhnaton's daughter: actually he was brother-in-law. His reign is given by Josephus as 9 years; but as the highest recorded date in the reign is Year 6, this figure 9 is perhaps incorrect.

**AY.** Manetho's list is here confused. The highest recorded date in the reign is Year 3, and we require here a reign of 4 years, according to the total of Horemheb's reign; so Manetho's 12 years and 3 months should probably read 4 years and 3 months.

**HOREMHEB.** Manetho gives him 4 years and 1 month, but this should be corrected to 24 years and 1 month; for there is a record of the 21st year of his sole reign, but we also have an inscription dated in his 59th year, which probably means

that, according to another reckoning, he died in the 60th year. The fact is, he began in later life to date his reign from the collapse of Amenhotpe III in 1376 B.C., and therefore it is apparent that he died in 1317 B.C. He included in his reign the last 6 years of Amenhotpe III, and the reigns of all the "heretic" family, whose names had been expunged from the records—Akhnaton, Smenkhkhere, Tutenkhamon, and Ay; and therefore the total of these reigns has to make 59 years, which checks our figures for them. The figures are this 6 of Queen Tiy's regency, the 16 + 9 of Akhnaton, Smenkhkhere, and Tutenkhamon, the 4 of Ay, and the 24 of Horemheb's real reign, making in all 59.

RAMESSES I. Manetho gives him 1 year and 4 months, and as the highest recorded date in his reign is Year 2, Manetho's figure is probably correct. Now we know that a Sothic Cycle began with the reign of Rameses I (Vol. I, page 26), and this Cycle's opening can be dated to about 1317 B.C. But, according to the above calculations, that is the exact date of Rameses I, and therefore we may regard the death of Horemheb and accession of Rameses I as definitely fixed to within a year or so of 1317 B.C. This fixed date, then, establishes the date of the illness of Amenhotpe III from which Horemheb counted his 59 years reign, and hence the date of the accession of Amenhotpe III is also fixed; and since the dates of the reigns of Thutmose III and Amenhotpe I are fixed by astronomical evidence, we can establish the general structure of the dates in the whole dynasty with certainty, and without the possibility of an error of more than a year or so even in the less authenticated periods. In fact, starting with the date 1317 B.C. for Rameses I, a dead reckoning of the known lengths of the reigns back to the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty takes us to 1576 B.C. as the date of the accession of Ahmose I, and the astronomical evidence is thus found exactly to confirm the calculation.

A TABLE OF THE DATES AND LENGTHS OF THE REIGNS  
IN THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY.

Year. B.C.	KING	Year of Reign.	Year. B.C.	KING.	Year of Reign.
1576	Ahmose	1	1525	Thutmose II	2
1575		2	1524		3
1574		3	1523		4
1573		4	1522		5
1572		5	1521		6
1571		6	1520		7
1570		7	1519		8
1569		8	1518		9
1568		9	1517		10
1567		10	1516		11
1566		11	1515		12
1565		12	1514		13
1564		13	1513		1
1563		14	1512		2
1562		15	1511		3
1561		16	1510		4
1560		17	1509		5
1559		18	1508		6
1558		19	1507		7
1557		20	1506		8
1556		21	1505		9
1555		22	1504		10
1554		23	1503		11
1553		24	1502		12
1552		25	1501		13
1551	Amenhotpe I	1	1500		14
1550		2	1499		15
1549		3	1498		16
1548		4	1497		17
1547		5	1496		18
1546		6	1495		19
1545		7	1494		20
1544		8	1493	Hetshepsut and Thutmose III	1
1543	<i>(Rising of Sirius)</i>	9			
1542		10	1492		2
1541		11	1491		3
1540		12	1490		4
1539		13	1489		5
1538		14	1488		6
1537		15	1487		7
1536		16	1486		8
1535		17	1485		9
1534		18	1484		10
1533	Thutmose I	19	1483		11
1532		20	1482		12
1531		21	1481		13
1530		22	1480		14
1529		23	1479		15
1528		24	1478		16
1527		25	1477		17
1526		1	1476		18

Year. B.C.	King.	Year of Reign.	Year. B.C.	King.	Year of Reign.
1475	Thutmose III alone	19	1420	Thutmose IV	22
1474		20	1419		23
1473		21	1418		24
1472		22	1417		25
1471		23	1416		26
1470		24	1415		1
1469		25	1414		2
1468		26	1413		3
1467		27	1412		4
1466		28	1411		5
1465		29	1410		6
1464		30	1409		7
1463		31	1408		8
1462		32	1407	Amenhotpe III	9
1461		33	1406		1
1460		34	1405		2
1459		35	1404		3
1458		36	1403		4
1457		37	1402		5
1456		38	1401		6
1455		39	1400		7
1454		40	1399		8
1453		41	1398		9
1452		42	1397		10
1451		43	1396		11
1450		44	1395		12
1449		45	1394		13
1448		46	1393		14
1447		47	1392		15
1446		48	1391		16
1445		49	1390		17
1444		50	1389		18
1443		51	1388		19
1442		52	1387		20
1441	Amenhotpe II co-regent	53	1386		21
1440	Amenhotpe II	2	1385		22
1439		3	1384		23
1438		4	1383		24
1437		5	1382		25
1436		6	1381		26
1435		7	1380		27
1434		8	1379		28
1433		9	1378		29
1432		10	1377		30
1431		11	1376	(Horemheb begins reckoning)	31 1
1430		12			
1429		13	1375		32 2
1428		14	1374		33 3
1427		15	1373		34 4
1426		16	1372		35 5
1425		17	1371		36 6
1424		18	1370	Akhnaton	1 7
1423		19	1369		2 8
1422		20	1368		3 9
1421		21	1367	(Beginning of Heresy 1)	4 10

Year. B.C.	KING.	Year of Reign.	Year. B.C.	KING.	Year of Reign.
1366		(2) 5 11	1340		2 37
1365		(3) 6 12	1339		3 38
1364		(4) 7 13	1338		4 39
1363		(5) 8 14	1337		5 40
1362		(6) 9 15	1336		6 41
1361		(7) 10 16	1335		7 42
1360		(8) 11 17	1334		8 43
1359		(9) 12 18	1333		9 44
1358		(10) 13 19	1332		10 45
1357		(11) 14 20	1331		11 46
1356		(12) 15 21	1330		12 47
1355		(13) 16 22	1329		13 48
1354	Smenkhkere	?	1328		14 49
1353		2 24	1327		15 50
1352	Tutenkhamon	?	1326		16 51
1351		2 26	1325		17 52
1350		3 27	1324		18 53
1349		4 28	1323		19 54
1348		5 29	1322		20 55
1347		6 30	1321		21 56
1346		7 31	1320		22 57
1345	Ay	1 32	1319		23 58
1344		2 33	1318		24 59
1343		3 34	1317	Rameses I	1
1342		4 35		Dynasty XIX founded	
1341	Horemheb	1 36		(Sothic Cycle begins)	

DYN. XVIII, I. AMOSE : NEBPEHTIRE AHMOSE

1576-1552 B.C.

Manetho calls the new Pharaoh Amos, Amosis, or Amoses, and, without the Greek termination, the best reading of the name is Amose, corresponding to the king's personal name, which he used as Son of the Sun-god, Aohmose or Ahmose, "Child of the Moon-god." As Reed- and Hor-net-king he took the name Nebpehtire, "Lord of the Might of the Sun-god"; as Hawk-king he called himself Uthkheperu, "Raising up, or Prospering, Creations," a phrase based on the throne-name of his predecessor; as Lord of the Vulture and the Cobra he was called Tutmosut, "The Image of the Begotten-ones," meaning that he was made in the image of his ancestors of the royal line begotten by the Sun-god; and as Hawk of Nubi his name was Thestoui, "Diademed by the Two Lands."

As has already been explained he was the son of King Seqenenre Tauoe and of Queen Ahhotpe, the latter being alive, and, indeed, still a young woman, but the former having been killed some years before. He must have been about 16 years old at his accession: that is to say, he had just come of age (page 222); and it would seem that he had been married to his sister Ahmose, who was henceforth called Ahmose Nofretiri, the latter name meaning "The Beautiful Companion." She was probably some years his senior (page 215), and was his full sister—not his half-sister, as is sometimes stated—being the daughter of Seqenenre and Ahhotpe. The court, one may suppose, was now again in residence at Thebes after its exile in Nubia; and a powerful army had here been collected, consisting of Egyptians and strong levies of splendid fighting material from the negro tribes of the south. This army was only waiting for the auspicious moment to renew its advance against King Apopi and his Asiatics in the north; and now that the son of the slain hero Seqenenre was of age and had come to the throne, one may imagine a state of great excitement and enthusiasm throughout the upper country, the generals hailing their young king as their destined leader, and the people looking to him to be their national saviour.

Unfortunately there are no records of the war between Ahmose and Apopi except those contained in the biography of a certain naval officer named Ahmose-son-of-Ebana, inscribed in his tomb at El Kâb, the ancient Nekheb, on the east bank of the Nile, opposite Nekhen, the original capital of the Hawk-kings, some 50 miles south of Thebes. This Ahmose, whose mother's name was Ebana, was son of Bebe, an officer who lived in the reign of Seqenenre, and who is possibly the same Bebe who has a tomb at El Kâb (Weigall, *Guide*, 326) in which the mortuary inscription refers to a famine lasting many years (Brugsch, *Egypt under the Pharaohs*, I, 304). The biography of this Ahmose reads as follows:—

"O, all you people, I will speak to you and will let you know the honours which have come upon me—(namely that) I was presented with (rewards of) gold seven times, as the whole country will witness, and with male and female slaves also, and that I was presented with many large estates—so that the fame of one who was brave in his deeds shall not

perish in this district for ever. . . . I spent my youth in the city of Nekheb, my father being an officer of the late King Seqenenre, named Bebe, son of Roinet. (When he died) I served in his place as Captain of the battleship *Bull*, in the time of the late King Nebpehtire (Ahmose), at which period I was young and unmarried and was still sleeping in the garment of a youth ; but later, after I had set up a household, I was transferred to the northern fleet, and, so that I might fight, I followed the king on my own two feet when he went forth (to battle) in his chariot. Now the king was besieging the city of Heuar (Avaris), and I fought on foot before his Majesty, in consequence of which I was appointed to the battleship *Crowned-in-Memphis*. Then the king fought on the waters of the canal (called) the Waterway of Avaris, and I fought in single combat (with one of the enemy, whose severed) hand I brought away (as a trophy). It was reported to the king's recorder ; and the king presented me with gold for my valour. Then again there was fighting in this place, and again I fought in single combat there, and brought away (my opponent's) hand (for which) the king presented me with gold on this second occasion."

We see, then, that King Ahmose had led his army down the Nile, past the point to which King Kemose had reached, and had successfully invaded the Hyksos territory, finally shutting King Apopi up in the fortress of Avaris, north of Heliopolis. During the siege the Asiatics evidently made two sorties by water, and on each occasion a battle was fought with the ships of the Egyptian fleet assembled on the canal, our naval officer distinguishing himself in both engagements by killing his man and cutting off his hand, that being the customary method of counting the enemy's dead. But now the siege of Avaris seems to have been interrupted by an attack south of Thebes, perhaps made by Bedouin tribesmen along the great caravan-route which enters the Nile Valley from the Eastern Desert behind the city of Nekheb. King Ahmose evidently had to hasten up-stream to meet this invasion, and he seems to have defeated the tribesmen, and to have scattered them so that some of them swam out into the river in their attempt to escape ; for our biographer proceeds thus :—" When the king was fighting in this south part of Egypt, at this city (of



Nekheb), I captured a prisoner alive. I went after him over the water, and brought him back as a captive into the streets of this city, having pursued him across the river. This was reported to the king's recorder, and the king presented me with gold in double measure."

The siege of Avaris probably lasted three or four years, and ended in a conditional surrender, for Manetho's account of it, quoted by Josephus, is as follows:—"The Hyksos were defeated by the (Egyptian) king, and were driven by him out of the other parts of Egypt, and hemmed up in an area containing some 10,000 acres, which was called Avaris. All this tract the Hyksos surrounded with extensive and strong fortifications, that they might retain all their property and their captives within their stronghold." Manetho then goes on to relate that the Egyptian king "endeavoured to force them by a siege, and beleaguered the place with an army of 480,000 men; but at the moment when he despaired of reducing them by siege, they agreed to a capitulation, (on the terms that) they should leave Egypt and should be permitted to go out without molestation, wherever they pleased. And, according to this agreement, they marched out of Egypt with all their families and effects, in number not less than 240,000, and made their way across the desert towards Syria."

Ahmose-son-of-Ebana gives a somewhat different story, for he says: "The king captured Avaris, and I took prisoner one man and three women, four persons in all, and his Majesty gave them to me for slaves." The inference here is that the place was taken by assault, but the two accounts may be reconciled if we suppose that our naval officer's prisoners were non-combatants left behind by the retreating enemy.

The Hyksos army made their way across the desert and came to a halt in the city of Sharuhén in southern Judah, mentioned in the Book of Joshua (xix. 6); but as they were here still within striking distance of Egypt, King Ahmose decided to attack them again. "The king besieged Sharuhén for three years," says Ahmose-son-of-Ebana, "and (at last) captured it. I then made prisoner there two women, and (took) one hand" (i.e. he killed a man in single combat, and cut off his hand as a record). "The king presented me with gold for my bravery, and gave me the prisoners for slaves.

(The reading "three years" in the above is explained by Sethe, *Zeitschrift*, xlii, 136, the numeral having previously been read as "six.") The presence of the two contending armies in southern Judah, neither of them belonging to that land, must have caused the utmost concern in Syria; and when at length the Hyksos forces were driven out of Sharuhén there must have been a period of the greatest commotion and anxiety in that country. The Egyptian king, however, does not seem to have followed up his victory just then by a further advance. Conditions were not sufficiently quiet in Egypt for him to do so, and he had to turn his attention now to his southern frontier, leaving Syria to be handled, and probably taxed, by his officials.

"Now, after his Majesty had (thus) defeated the Asiatics," Ahmose-son-of-Ebana continues, "he went up the Nile to Khenthennofre (above the Second Cataract) to destroy the Nubian desert-tribes; and he made a great slaughter amongst them. Then I there made prisoner two men alive, and (took) three hands (i.e. killed three men). The king presented me with gold in double measure, giving to me (also) two female captives as slaves. His Majesty sailed down-stream, his heart happy by reason of the mightiness of his victory, (for) he had seized Southerners and Northerners (alike; but presently) there appeared an enemy in the South: his fate and his destruction (however) approached, (for) the gods of the South seized him. His Majesty encountered him in Tintoemu" (an unidentified district, perhaps at the First or Second Cataract), "and captured him as a living prisoner, all his people being captured (with him). I myself took prisoners two bowmen, capturing them on an enemy ship, and the king gave me five persons (as slaves) besides five *stat* ( $3\frac{1}{2}$  acres) of land in my city. (Presents) were made to all the sailors likewise. Then came that wretched man whose name was Totien, who had gathered around him those who were of evil mind; and his Majesty (having attacked him) killed him and his household, annihilating them. (After that engagement) there were given to me three persons (as slaves), and five *stat* of land in my city."

Here we must leave our biographer for a while, since the further chronicle of his deeds concerns the next reign. It

would have been interesting to know more about the rebel Totien, who, one may suppose, was one of the princes or great men of Egypt whose province did not accept the sway of the victorious Ahmose and his dark-skinned Southerners any more readily than that of Apopi and his Asiatics. At this time the Egyptians of Lower Egypt had been separated from those of Upper Egypt ever since the early part of the Thirteenth Dynasty, 300 years before, and thus they may well have objected to being ruled by this southern monarch even though he had delivered them from the Hyksos, and it is quite likely that they considered him to be something of a barbarian himself.

Possibly the Egyptians of the Western Delta had a king of their own in the first years of the reign of Ahmose, for Josephus, quoting from Manetho, states that the rebellion against the Hyksos was organized "by the kings of Thebes" (that is to say, of the Seventeenth Dynasty) "and by those of other parts of Egypt"; and, as I have suggested on page 205, the scarabs of the kings with names beginning with *Nub* may belong to a line of petty Kings of the Western Delta who were contemporaneous with the Seventeenth Dynasty. The existence of an actual king in the Western Delta, having his residence at the ancient city of Sae (Sais), is suggested by the following facts. King Ahmose is known to have married, as a secondary wife, a certain *Insisit* or "Royal Daughter" named Inhapi, whose parentage is not stated; and by her he had a daughter who was given the names Ahmose Hent-Temehu, or "Ahmose called Hent-Temehu," as it is sometimes recorded; but Hent-Temehu means "Mistress of the Temehu-people," and therefore the inference is that she had some particular claim to be regarded as a princess of the Temehu, and, since she was a "Royal Daughter," her father may have been an Egypto-Temehu king of the Western Delta. These Temehu were the Libyan tribes living in the Western Delta, and the city of Sae, the capital of that region, seems always to have been a Libyan centre (Vol. I, p. 83). As Newberry has pointed out (*Ancient Egypt*, 1915, 101) the Princess Ahmose Hent-Temehu was the mother of the famous Queen Hetshepsut, who seems to have distinguished herself by wearing male costume; but the dress of the women of the Temehu

is almost indistinguishable from that of the men (Borchardt, *Grabdenkmal des Königs Sahure*; and *Ancient Egypt*, 1915, opposite page 97), and thus Hetshepsut may have been following in this regard the custom of her mother and grandmother, whose real connection with the Temehu may thus be argued. It seems possible, therefore, that there was a king of the Temehu ruling in the Western Delta in the early years of the reign of Ahmose, and that the latter married his daughter, Inhapi, for political reasons. It is evident, however, that Ahmose was soon rid of him, for he was certainly alone in his glory during the rest of his reign. The lady Inhapi, too, seems to have made her exit before the end of the reign, for the embalming of her mummy (*Cat. Cairo Mus.* 61053) is stated by Prof. Elliot Smith to have been carried out in the manner of the early part of the dynasty. She was a strongly-built, square-shouldered young woman, large-bosomed and fat; and her hair was dressed in scores of tight little plaits which hung all over her head like a cascade. She may have died soon after the birth of her daughter Ahmose, about 1553 B.C.

During the years of the war against the Hyksos there were three queens in the Theban royal family. There was Queen Ahmose Nofretiri, sister and wife of King Ahmose; there was Queen Ahhotpe, their mother, widow of Seqenenre, who was still in the prime of life; and there was Queen Totisheri, mother of Seqenenre, and grandmother of Ahmose. Seqenenre was born about 1620 B.C., and Totisheri may therefore have been born between 1636 and 1640 B.C., and at the accession of Ahmose in 1576 B.C. she would have been somewhere in the sixties. That she was still alive is proved by a fragment of an inscribed tablet now in University College, London (*Ancient Egypt*, 1921, 14), which, by the style of the writing, dates from the beginning of the reign. The lower part of this tablet is lost, but sufficient remains to show that King Ahmose was there represented worshipping the war-god Mentu, while behind the king there was the figure of Totisheri. The first line of the inscription gives the date: the year is lost, though one can judge from the spacing that it was a small numeral, but the calendar-date "17th day of the 4th month of the 3rd season in the reign of Nebpehtire Ahmose" still remains. The second line, in my opinion, reads: "He (the king) made this

as his memorial (on the occasion of) the cutting of the breach in the dykes" (*thethi wep em maout*). This would be the well-known annual ceremony now called the *Wefa el-Bahr* (the word *wefa* being possibly identical with the Egyptian *wep*). It is performed each year on the island of Rôda, just above Cairo, and not far from the ancient Memphis, when the Nile-flood has reached the necessary height for the irrigation of the fields, and a temporary dam or dyke is cut through, thus releasing the water, amidst general rejoicings. The ceremony now usually takes place just about the middle of August, and during the early years of the reign of Ahmose the calendar date as given in this inscription corresponds exactly to that time of year—for example, in 1576 B.C., the first year of the reign, it corresponds to August 17th, and, three or four years later, to August 16th. I suppose this tablet records the first performance of this ceremony to be conducted by an Egyptian king since the conquest of Egypt by the first Apopi in 1812 B.C. (p. 185), nearly two and a half centuries previously; and thus it was an event of great importance, the war-god Mentu being regarded as the presiding deity because the king was with his victorious army at the time.

Perhaps the reason why the figure of Queen Totisheri is represented on the tablet was that the Pharaoh had just presented her with an estate in this district. A papyrus has been found at Abusîr, near Cairo (*Zeitschrift*, 1900, 150), upon which some accounts are written, dating from about this time; and mention is there made of "the estate of (Queen) Totisheri," and also "the estate of Sitkemosé," a princess of the period (page 255); which shows that Ahmose had given his grandmother and other members of the royal family the territory taken from the defeated Hyksos king. Thus we may think of Totisheri, whose days had begun in the troubled times when the Seventeenth Dynasty was ruling only in the south-country, and who had lived through the war which had caused the death of her son Seqenenre, now passing her old age in comfort on her estates at Memphis, with her victorious grandson established as Pharaoh of all Egypt.

She did not live much longer, however, for before the end of the reign we find Ahmose recalling her memory to mind, and deciding to enlarge her cenotaph at Abydos, which indi-

cates that she had then been dead for several years. Her actual tomb was situated at Thebes, where Sequenre was interred, but it has not been found. Many centuries afterwards her body was placed with the other royal mummies in the secret hiding-place at Dêr el-Bahri, in order to save it from the tomb-robbers ; and, when that hiding-place was discovered in modern times, the mummy was transported with the others to the Cairo Museum. There some embalming bandages bearing her name and those of her parents have been sorted out from the confused mass of the material from this great " find " (*Annales*, ix, 137) ; but her nameless body has not been definitely identified. Probably she is the little old lady now known as No. 61056. This mummy, which, by the style of the embalming, belongs to the early part of the reign of Ahmose (Elliot Smith, *Cat. Cairo Mus.*), is that of an aged woman, whose white hair had become so scanty that it was eked out by plaits of false hair. The face is small but handsome, though the chin recedes a little, and the upper teeth are rather prominent, like those of her grandson King Ahmose (page 255) and of her granddaughter, Queen Ahmose Nofretiri (page 253).

The enlargement of her cenotaph, to which I have just referred, is recorded on a fine tablet discovered at Abydos (Ayrton, Currelly, and Weigall, *Abydos*, III, pl. lii), the inscription on which reads as follows :—" Now it happened that his Majesty the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Nebpehtire, Son of the Sun, Ahmose, was sitting in the audience-hall (of the palace), while the hereditary Princess, great in favour, great in graciousness, King's Daughter, King's Sister, Divine Consort, Great Wife of the King, Ahmose Nofretiri, was with his Majesty ; and the former was speaking to the latter, seeking the welfare of those yonder (i.e. the dead), and (talking of) the making of libations, and the offering of sacrifices upon the altar, and the decking of the mortuary-tablet, (which should be undertaken for them) at the moon-feast, and at the monthly-feast, and at the feast of the Going-forth of the *Sem*-priest, and at the feast of the Night-Sacrifice on the 5th day of the month, and at the feast of the 6th day of the month, and at the feast of Hakro, and at the feast of Uag, and at the feast of Thoth, and at the feast of the beginning

of every season of the heaven and the earth (i.e. according to the stars and according to the calendar). Then his sister said in answer to him : ' Why have these things been recalled ? Why have these words been spoken ? What has come into your mind ? ' And the king himself said to her : ' I, even I, have been thinking of the mother of my mother (who was also) the mother of my father, the Great Wife of a King, and the Mother of a King, the departed Totisheri. (Although) her tomb and her cenotaph are at this present time upon the soil of Thebes and Abydos, (yet) I have said this to you, because my Majesty has wished to make for her (also) a pyramid and a shrine in the Necropolis of Abydos as a memorial-presentation from my Majesty. Its sacred-lake shall be dug, trees shall be planted around it, and its offerings shall be instituted. It shall be provided with people, endowed with lands, furnished with cattle ; and there shall be mortuary-priests and ritual-priests, every man knowing his duties.' No sooner had his Majesty said the word than these buildings were constructed apace, his Majesty doing this because he had loved her beyond anything, nor had previous kings done the like of it for their mothers. Then, (when it was done) his Majesty (came) and stretched out his arm and bent his hand (in salutation to her), and pronounced for her the royal funeral-prayer, and (made) a sacrifice to Geb (the earth-god), and to the Great Cycle of the gods, and to the Lesser Cycle . . . and to (Anubis) in his holy shrine, (making) thousands of offerings of bread, beer, oxen, geese, and cattle . . . (to her spirit). . ." The end of the inscription is lost.

All that now remains of these buildings was discovered by Currelly (*Abydos*, III) in the desert a few miles south of Abydos, where a gently rising expanse of smooth sand lies between the cultivation and the rugged hills of the western uplands. Not far from the fields Ahmose erected the pyramid, and nearly a mile back in the desert he built a terraced temple on the hillside, while between these two points was a shrine, and, at some distance from it, the tomb or cenotaph. The shrine consisted of a series of small chambers, in front of which the great inscribed tablet, translated above, was set up. The tomb contained a series of roughly excavated halls, chambers, and passages, cut in the rock underlying the sandy surface

of the desert ; and it was entered by so small and insignificant a hole in this bed-rock under the sand that it is a wonder it was ever found. Yet these subterranean halls were robbed in ancient times, and the modern excavator found only a few fragments of gold leaf to indicate that sepulchral furniture had ever been placed there. It has generally been supposed that the tomb and the hillside temple are those of Ahmose himself ; but more probably the tomb and the shrine are the original cenotaph of Totisheri referred to in the inscription, and the pyramid and the terraced temple are those which Ahmose states that he built for her.

In about the 21st year of the reign King Ahmose led his army across the desert once more into Syria, the cause of the war being unknown. The campaign is mentioned in the biography of a certain noble of El Kâb, named Ahmose-Pennekheb, who was probably a relation of Ahmose-son-of-Ebana ; but he only says : " I followed King Nebpehtire (Ahmose), and took for him in Thahi a living prisoner, and (also) a hand." Thahi, or Zahi, is the western part of Syria, but the word is used very loosely, and seems often to denote the whole of that country. The date of the campaign may be arrived at in the following manner. Ahmose-Pennekheb lived on, as he tells us, into the sole reign of Thutmose III, after the death of Queen Hetshepsut in 1472 B.C. (page 336), and I shall show (page 362) that it is pretty certain he lived beyond " Year 24 " of Thutmose III. But he would not have gone to the wars and engaged in the actual fighting before he was 16, in which year Egyptian boys came of age ; and therefore he must have reached the remarkable but not unlikely age of 102 by the " Year 24 " of Thutmose III. Thus, if the Syrian campaign had been much earlier than the 21st year of the reign, Ahmose-Pennekheb would have been as much over 102 when he caused his biography to be written, which is unlikely. But, added to this, there is a quarry-inscription dated in the 22nd year of the reign which states that the king was using oxen for the dragging of the quarried stones, and that these oxen had been captured in his war against the Fenkhu, or Asiatics ; and the inference is that this war had taken place just before that time. Scholars have generally thought that the fighting in Thahi followed immediately after



the siege of Sharuhen, but the above facts will show that this is practically impossible, and that the real date of the Syrian campaign was shortly before the 22nd year.

The above-mentioned quarry-inscription is engraved upon the wall of one of the great quarries at Turrah, near Cairo, whence came the fine limestone "of Ayan" used in building throughout Egyptian history. Above the inscription are the names and titles of King Ahmose, and, more prominently, those of Queen Ahmose Nofretiri, his sister-wife. The inscription reads: "Year 22 in the reign of King Ahmose. . . . These quarries were opened anew, and the good limestone of Ayan (the old name of the district) was procured for (the building of) his temples (which are designed to endure) for millions of years, (namely) the temple of Ptah (at Memphis), the temple of Amon in Luxor, and all the monuments which his Majesty is making for him (Amon). The stone was dragged by oxen which his Majesty captured in his victories over the Fenkhu." Then follows the name of a high official called Neferperet by whom the work was carried out, who describes himself as "vigilant in restoring the monumental buildings." Below the inscription there is a representation of a large block of stone resting upon a sledge and being dragged by oxen in the charge of bearded men who appear to be Asiatic prisoners-of-war. Not far away there is a second and somewhat similar record (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iii, 3).

The prominence given to the name of the Queen in this inscription is interesting, as showing the great importance of the royal heiress in the Pharaonic family at this time. I found her name written alone, at an alabaster-quarry in the Wady Assiout (*Annales*, xi, 176); several statuettes representing her are known, though none of her husband have come to light, and a headless statue of her was found at Karnak (Wiedemann, *Geschichte*, 316). In after years her memory was venerated even more than that of her husband, and she was regarded as the divine ancestress of the dynasty, and even as an actual goddess, in which aspect she was sometimes represented with flesh coloured blue or black like that of some of the gods of the underworld.

She seems to have outlived her husband, who died at the age of 40 or thereabouts; and though her death, therefore,

is an event which belongs really to the next reign, it will be more convenient to speak of it here. Her tomb is unknown, but her great coffin, more than 10 feet long, was found in the royal hiding-place, and is now in the Cairo Museum. The lid is made in the dead woman's likeness: she wears the crown and tall feathers of a queen or goddess rising from above her long hair, and her arms are folded, each hand holding the *enkh*, or symbol of life. In this coffin two bodies were found: one was a poor-looking mummy, but the other, which rested in a smaller coffin, was well embalmed and well preserved. Now comes a mysterious and contradictory series of statements which I find it difficult to elucidate. The Museum authorities seem to have thought that the latter body—the one in the coffin—was that of Ahmose-Nofretiri, and that the former was an intruder placed there by the priests at the time when they were hastily hiding the royal mummies, and this intruder was therefore stored away in a cellar. Here, however, it was affected by the damp, and presently began to emit so dreadful an odour that it was hastily buried in the garden of the Museum. At what seems to have been a later date, however, Maspero came to think that this body which had thus been lost was that of the queen; and as a result one finds Egyptological writers bewailing the ignoble end of the great Ahmose-Nofretiri. Still later Maspero asserted (*Guide to Cairo Museum*, 1173 *bis*) that the body had never been lost, and was now back in the Cairo collection. But when Elliot Smith came to examine and catalogue all the royal bodies, he found that a mummy which was certainly one of these two, that is to say either the one which had been in the inner coffin or the one which had been buried and apparently rediscovered, was probably that of the queen; for it was that of a woman who had been embalmed in the manner of the early part of the Eighteenth Dynasty, and whose prominent upper teeth were recognized as a family trait of the royal line at this time. If this be so, then the body of the venerated Ahmose-Nofretiri is that now numbered 61055 (*Cat. Cairo Mus.*), and one can see that at the time of her death she was an elderly and rather emaciated woman, who was nearly bald, this deficiency of hair, however, being hidden by many false little plaits. It will be remembered that she was several years older than her

husband (page 215), and therefore if she died, as seems probable, at the age of about 70, her death must have taken place towards the end of the reign of Amenhotpe I.

Queen Ahhotpe, daughter of Totisheri, widow and sister of Sequenre, and mother both of King Ahmose and of Queen Ahmose Nofretiri, lived on, as has been said, into the reign of Thutmose I (page 274). Her figure appears behind that of her son, engraved upon a doorway of the temple of Buhen, near Wady Hâlfâ (MacIver and Woolley, *Buhen*, 87). This doorway, by the way, was set up at the king's direction by the Commandant of Buhen, named Thuroy, who was afterwards Viceroy of Ethiopia (Breasted, *Records*, II, § 61). At Karnak King Ahmose erected a great stela (*Annales*, IV, 27) on which he records his pious works at that temple, and he states that the same deference is to be paid to Queen Ahhotpe as to himself. Thus again we see how highly honoured were the queens of this period.

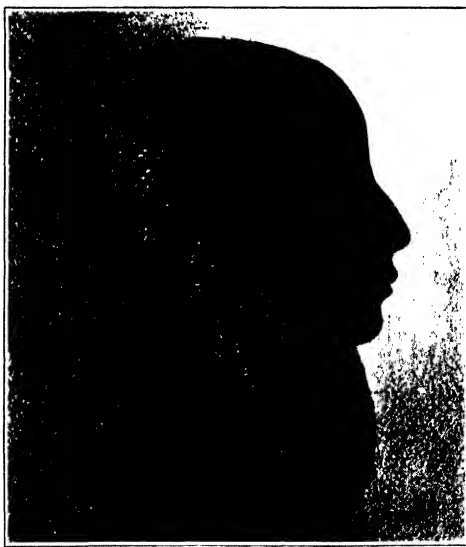
This Karnak inscription is interesting also because it speaks of the king in the following words: "The Asiatics approach (him) with frightened steps, standing (huddled) together in his judgment-hall; for his sword is in Khenthennofre (in Nubia), the fear of him is in the lands of the Fenkhu (Syria), and the terror of his Majesty is in (all) this land, like that of the god Min." Some of the king's gifts to Amon-Re at Karnak are here recorded as follows: "Great diadems of gold with rosettes of genuine lapis-lazuli; seal-rings of gold; large vases of gold; pots and vases of silver; tables of gold; altars of offering of gold and silver; necklaces of gold and silver with lapis-lazuli and malachite; a golden drinking-cup for the *ke* (or spirit), its stem of silver; a dish of gold; jars of red granite filled with ointment; great pails of silver rimmed with gold, the handles being of silver; a harp of ebony; a . . . of gold and silver; sphinxes of silver; a barge (for the festival) of the Beginning of the Flood (named) 'Mighty is the Presence of Amon,' made of new cedar of the best of the groves (of Lebanon)"; and so forth. (For the festival of the Beginning of the Flood, see page 331.) At the temple of Abydos the king carried out some work, and a relief showing his head has been found there (Petrie, *Abydos*, II, xxxii). The sepulchre of Ahmose has never been discovered, but his body



BRONZE DAGGER, WITH WOODEN HANDLE INLAID WITH GOLD AND JEWELS, INSCRIBED WITH THE NAME OF AHMOSE I OF THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY, AND FOUND IN THE COFFIN OF THAT KING'S MOTHER AHHOTPE OF THE SEVENTEENTH DYNASTY.  
*See page 276.*



STATUETTE OF QUEEN TOTISHERI OF THE SEVENTEENTH DYNASTY. *See page 213.*



THE MUMMY OF THE LADY REV, 'NURSE' OF QUEEN AHMOSE NOFRETIRI OF THE LATE SEVENTEENTH TO EARLY EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY.  
The nose, mouth and chin have been slightly restored.  
*See page 255.*



was found in the priests' hiding-place and is now in the Cairo Museum. It shows him to have been about 40 years of age when he died. He was a strongly-built, broad-shouldered man, 5 foot 6 inches in height, having a good head covered with a thick crop of curly, dark brown hair, and a somewhat small face, the upper teeth rather prominent, like those of other members of his family (Elliot Smith, *Cat. Cairo Mus.*, p. 15). There was a wreath of flowers—*delphinium orientale*—around his neck.

I may mention here some other members of the royal family. Reference was made just now to Princess Sitkemose, who owned an estate near Memphis: her name means " Daughter of Kemose," and she was therefore probably daughter of the late Pharaoh Kemose, whom I have supposed to be uncle of Ahmose. She is called " King's Daughter, King's Sister, and King's Wife " (Maspero, *Momies royales*, 541), the first referring apparently to her father, King Kemose, the second being perhaps a term here (as often) meaning merely a close relation, and the third indicating that she, too, was married to Ahmose. It may be, however, that she was sister and widow of King Kemose, and daughter of the unidentified king who was that Pharaoh's father. Her body was found with the other royal mummies, and is now in Cairo (*Cat. Cairo Mus.* 61063). She was a strongly-built, almost masculine woman, 5 foot 5 inches in height, whose age at death was not much more than 30 or 35 years, for her brown hair was not streaked with white, nor were her teeth much worn. Garlands of flowers were found upon her breast. Another great lady of the time was named Rey, and had the title " Nurse of Queen Ahmose-Nofretiri." Her body, found with the others, is in the Cairo Museum (No. 61054), and shows her to have been a slim and beautiful woman, not more than middle-aged at her death, having an abundance of hair, dressed in a multitude of small plaits, and charming little hands and feet almost like those of a child. The prominence of the teeth in the upper jaw suggests that she was by birth a member of the royal family, which exhibits this trait; and it is probable that she was a cousin of Seqenenre, married to some great noble of the time, and chosen as a nurse or foster-mother for the youthful Ahmose-Nofretiri at the time when the Queen Ahhotpe

and the royal family were in flight after the death of Sequenre.

The much-damaged bodies of three children, presumably of King Ahmose, are in the Cairo Museum (Nos. 61059, 61060, and 61064). The first is that of Prince Siamon; the second that of Princess Sitamon; and the third that of a boy of some six years of age named Ahmose-Sipeiri. The last-named was perhaps the first son, and heir, of King Ahmose; for his important tomb, now lost, originally stood close to those of Sequenre and Kemose. It was examined by the inspectors of the time of Rameses IX, and was then found to be intact (*Abbott Papyrus*). The fragment of a stela on which he is represented is now at University College, London (Petrie, *History*). Then there is a lady named Ahmose-Merytamon, who is called "King's Daughter, King's Sister, and King's Wife," and who seems to have been a daughter of King Ahmose, and to have been married to her brother Amenhotpe I; but she probably died early in the reign of the latter. She and the three infants just mentioned were all venerated in later days, which indicates that special religious foundations were instituted in their honour.

One of the secondary wives of King Ahmose was a lady named Sensonb, who presented the king with a son named Thutmose, afterwards Pharaoh (page 264); and at the time of the king's death this Prince Thutmose must have been some 20 years of age, but, not being the child of the great queen, Ahmose-Nofretiri, he was not heir to the throne. The heir was Prince Amenhotpe, the king's son by Ahmose-Nofretiri, but there is no evidence of his age.

In concluding the story of this important reign, I may mention two or three other relics of King Ahmose. An alabaster vase inscribed with his name is in the Cairo Museum; a blue-glazed hawk (*Monuments Divers*, 52) has upon one side of the base a representation of three captives, a negro, a Syrian, and a Libyan, the last being interesting as indicating that the king had made war on the Libyans; and some scarabs and amulets are also known.

## DYN. XVIII, 2. AMENOPH : THOSERKERE AMENHOTPE (I)

1551-1527 B.C.

The age of the succeeding Pharaoh is not known, but as he seems to have had an elder brother, Ahmose-Sipeiri, who had died, and as his father was only about 40 years of age at death, the new king was probably not more than 20 at most at his accession. One wonders what sort of young man he was, in view of the fact that his father and mother were brother and sister, and their father and mother before them had also been brother and sister ; but his mummy, being a fine specimen of the embalmer's art, has never been unwrapped and examined, and there is nothing in the other remains of his reign to tell us whether this inbreeding had had any ill effects. All one can say is that, like his father, he seems to have died in his forties, for his reign is known to have lasted no more than 25 years. When he came to the throne he must have been surrounded by the great ladies of the royal family—his mother, the widowed Queen Ahmose-Nofretiri, now in the middle forties ; his grandmother, Queen Ahhotpe, now about 64 (page 214) ; his sister Ahmose-Merytamon to whom he was perhaps married, and who died a few years later ; his sister Princess Ahhotpe, whom he afterwards married ; and probably other sisters. One can imagine what a great wailing there was amongst all these ladies at the funeral of King Ahmose. The name of Amenhotpe I has been found on the embalming-bandages of Ahmose, which shows that he officiated at the funeral.

The new Pharaoh, in his capacity as Reed- and Hornet-king, took the name Thoserkere, "The Splendour of the Spirit of the Sun-god" ; as Hawk-king he called himself Kewef, "Attached to the Bull-god" (a form of Thoth) ; as Son of the Sun-god his personal name Amenhotpe, meaning "Amon is content," was used ; but his other royal names have not been found. In regard to the name Amenhotpe a word of explanation is due to the general reader. Manetho transcribes it throughout this dynasty as Amenophis ; and this shows firstly that the name of the god, though sometimes transcribed *Amon* or *Ammon*, could be rendered *Amen*, and secondly that the other word in the name, which is now gener-



ally read *hoteḫ* or *hetep*, is more properly *hōtḫē*. In Coptic this has become *hōtḫ*, and in Greek the *ḫ* has softened as usual into *ph*, and the *h* and *t* have dropped out, thus giving *ōph*, to which the termination *is* was added by the Greeks. Other Greek writers sometimes render the name as Amenōthes, but in this the *ōth* is an apparent miswriting for *ōph*. Thus, although the reader will find scholars referring to any Pharaoh of this name as Amenophis, Amenothēs, Amenhotep, or Amenhetep, the best rendering for the name in the Eighteenth Dynasty is Amenhotpe, which by Greek times has become Amenoph.

During this reign two campaigns were fought, one against the negroes of the Sudan, and the other against the Libyans of the western desert ; but there is no evidence in regard to the date of these wars, and, indeed, they do not appear to have been of much importance. The negro campaign is recorded by our old friend, the naval officer Ahmose-son-of-Ebana (page 242), who says : “ I sailed (i.e. commanded the battleship which carried) King Thoserkere (Amenhotpe) when he ascended the river to Kush (Ethiopia, or the Sudan) in order to extend the frontiers of Egypt. His Majesty captured that Nubian chieftain who was amongst his troops (there). . . . They were surrounded, and none of them escaped : they were overwhelmed, (so that it was) as though they had never existed. On that occasion I was at the head of our troops, and I fought more than would be (believed to be) true, his Majesty (himself) being witness of my bravery. I carried off two hands, and took them to his Majesty. The king (then) went in pursuit of his (the defeated chieftain's) people and his cattle, and I then captured a living prisoner, and took him to his Majesty. In (the space of) two days I conveyed his Majesty (down stream again) to Egypt from the upper (or second) cataract, (for which) he presented me with gold. I also brought back (with me) two female captives, in addition to others which I handed over to his Majesty. The king (then) appointed me ‘King's Warrior.’ ” The distance between the two cataracts is roughly 200 miles, and it is interesting to note, therefore, that if a speed of 6 miles an hour was maintained (the current itself runs at 3 miles an hour), the oarsmen being constantly changed, the journey

could have been accomplished in 33 hours, that is to say two full days of 16½ hours each, with a night's rest between. This campaign is referred to by Ahmose-Pennekheb (page 251), who writes: "I followed King Thoserkere, and captured for him in Kush a living prisoner"; and the same officer also says: "Again I served King Thoserkere, and took for him three hands (in the campaign) on the north of Imukehek," a district lying in the Libyan desert, north of Memphis and west of the Delta, this being the only mention we have of the Libyan campaign. Syria appears to have remained docile throughout the reign, and, indeed, it is probable that it was actually administered by Egyptian officials, or, at any rate, was under Egyptian "influence," as far north as Damascus.

With the exception of these two wars the reign appears to have passed in profound peace, and the Pharaoh was able to devote his attention to the erection of temples to the gods; and, indeed, so great a reputation did he acquire as the founder of religious buildings that for generations afterwards he was venerated as a god. At Karnak a gate has been found on the south side of the temple (*Annales*, iv, 15), inscribed as follows: "King Amenhotpe made this as his memorial for his father Amon, Lord of Thebes, erecting for him a great gate, 20 cubits in height, at the double façade of the temple, (made) of the fine limestone of Ayan" (i.e. limestone from the quarries of Turrah, near Cairo). A second inscription refers to "... the building of his (Amon's) house, the establishing of his temple, the erecting of the southern gate, made 20 cubits in height, of fine white limestone. . . ." These gates were set up at the time of the king's jubilee; and as a jubilee seems to have marked the 30th year dating from a king's appointment as heir to the throne, the celebration may have taken place at any time after the 10th year of the reign, for Amenhotpe may have been proclaimed as heir by his father, Ahmose, soon after his birth. A certain nobleman named Ineni, whose tomb at Thebes I have numbered 81 (Weigall, *Guide*, 133), and who held the position of Chief of all Works in Karnak, refers, in a damaged inscription, to some building, probably at Karnak, which he erected for the king, made of alabaster from the quarries of Hetnub, near Assiout. "Its doors were set up of copper made in one sheet," he says,

"and parts of it were of electrum. I inspected (all) that his Majesty made (in) bronze and Asiatic copper: collars, vessels, and necklaces (for the statues of the gods). I was foreman of his every work, and all his undertakings were under my command: . . . (including those) for the feasts of the Beginning of the Seasons, and likewise (those) for his father Amon, Lord of Thebes: these (too) were under my direction." Many limestone blocks from the ruins of a temple built by this king have been found at Karnak; and here, also, statues of him have been discovered.

On the occasion of his jubilee he erected a small temple at the north end of the Theban necropolis on the west side of the Nile (Carter, in *Journal*, vol. iii, p. 147); and here the fine reliefs show him being presented with symbols of an eternity of years by the Hawk-god and the god Set of Nubi (Winlock, in *Journal*, vol. iv, p. 11, pl. iv). He also built a splendid temple for the service of his spirit after death, in the desert at the south end of the Theban necropolis. It now forms part of the ruins known in general as the temple of Medinet Habu; but at that time the building stood alone (Weigall, *Guide*, p. 243). Beside it there seems to have been a garden, surrounding an artificial lake, the remains of which are still to be seen. A fine statue of the king, now in the Cairo Museum, was found in this temple; and on the pedestal there is a figure of the Pharaoh's mother, Queen Ahmose-Nofretiri.

At Abydos he built a temple in honour of his father Ahmose. At Nekheb (El Kâb) he undertook some building operations (Weigall, *Guide*, 311); at Kom Ombo he also built a shrine (*Zeitschrift*, xxi, 78); and at Ibrîm, in Lower Nubia, there are traces of his work (Rosellini, *Mon. Storici.*, xxviii). In the Shat er-Rigâl, a desert valley near Gebel Silsileh, between Luxor and Aswân, there is an inscription recording the name of an architect, Penieti, who worked under this and the three following kings (Petrie, *Season*, 476); and at Gebel Silsileh itself there is a tablet with a figure of the king upon it, dedicated by a certain Peynamon (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iii, 200). It was at about this time, it should be noted, that the sandstone, which is found in that neighbourhood, was first quarried for use in temple-building, in place of the limestone from Turrah previously used.

In the Ebers papyrus there is a very important dated reference to the rising of Sirius, which reads : " In the Year 9 of the reign of Thoserkere (Amenhotpe I) the festival of the beginning of the year (occurred on) the 9th day of the 3rd month of the 3rd season, (being) the rising of Sirius." It can be calculated that the rising of that star took place on that date in the year 1543 B.C. (*Knobel-Petrie Tables*), or possibly a year earlier ; and thus the dating of the reign can be fixed very closely by this piece of information. An interesting inscription, found on a tablet at Thebes and now in Cairo, has been left to us by a certain noble named Keres, who was Chief Steward to the old Queen Ahhotpe, the reigning Pharaoh's grandmother (Piehl, *Zeitschrift*, 1888, 117). It is dated on the 1st day of the 1st month of the 3rd season, in the 10th year of the reign, that is to say about April 24th, 1542 B.C. It reads : " The command of the Royal Mother Ahhotpe to the Prince Keres. The Royal Mother commands that there shall be made for you a tomb at Abydos, in recognition of all your works and all your kindnesses. There shall be made for you your statues, to remain in the temple, amongst those of the followers of Amon, whose virtues are recorded in writing in the temple of Amon ; and there shall be made for you mortuary offerings ; and this the Royal Mother does for you as for one whom she has loved. . . . (For this Keres) is the real confidant of his queen, to whom her secrets are told, experienced in the habits of his queen, transacting her affairs at the palace, finding the solutions (of difficult matters), making disagreeable affairs pleasant, one upon whose opinion his queen depends, seeking the truth, understanding the affairs of the mind, profitable in advice to his queen, great in respect in the palace of the Royal Mother, wise in its business, excellent in speaking, reserved in mind, administering the palace with shut mouth in regard to that which he hears, an official who solves complicated problems, watchful administrator for the Royal Mother, not (allowing himself) more leisure by night than by day, . . . a man of truth, genuinely honest, free from falsehood, quick in deciding matters, protecting the weak, defending him who is without a defender, sending away two (differing) men reconciled by the utterance of his mouth, just even as a pair of scales. . . ." The old queen, who was now

nearly 75 years of age, was evidently very fond of her steward, and in thus ordering a tomb to be prepared for him in the sacred necropolis of Osiris, she was making him an expensive and very practical gift, for every Egyptian liked to feel that a comfortable sepulchre was ready for him.

The wife of Amenhotpe I was, as has been said, another lady of the name of Ahhotpe, who was also his sister ; but she does not appear to have presented him with any children. In fact, this Pharaoh seems in the end to have died childless. He reigned, according to Manetho, 25 years and 4 months, that is to say he died in the 5th month of the 26th year of his reign (1527 B.C.) which then fell between December 20th and January 20th. The architect Ineni briefly writes of the king's death, in these words : " His Majesty having passed his life in happiness and his years in peace, went forth to heaven and joined the sun, becoming united with him." He was buried in his tomb at Thebes, but in later times his coffin and mummy were taken out of the sepulchre, and hidden with the other royal mummies at Dêr el-Bahri, and they now rest in the Cairo Museum. The coffin is not of a costly kind, being made of wood and painted, not gilded. The mummy, which is covered with wreaths of flowers, has not been unwrapped. The empty coffin of his wife, Ahhotpe, was also found in the same general hiding-place, and is in the Cairo Museum ; but her mummy is lost.

In regard to the identity of the tomb of Amenhotpe I there is some uncertainty. Carter (*Journal*, III, 147) believes that it is a sepulchre which he discovered in the northern part of the Theban necropolis ; but the identification is improbable, and as the mortuary temple was built at the south end of the necropolis (page 260) it seems very unlikely that the sepulchre itself would be situated at the north end. In the Abbott Papyrus there is the report of the inspectors who examined the tomb of this Pharaoh in the reign of Rameses IX, and found it to be intact. They describe its situation in the following words, as I translate them : " The tomb of King Thoserkere, Son of the Sun-god, Amenhotpe, which is situated (or made) at 120 cubits down the chasm (measured) from the upper buildings on the summit of the pathway, (which are) belonging to and near it (the tomb), north of the temple of

Amenhotpe which has the garden." Now, following this description, we start from that "temple of Amenhotpe which has the garden," and which is probably the king's mortuary temple at Medinet Habu, for, as I have said on page 260, that building seems to have had a garden, of which the artificial lake still remains. Going due north from this point we find ourselves between the Valley of the Tombs of the Queens and the temple of Dêr el-Medineh; and here there is a well-known pathway leading over the hills to the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings. At its summit there are some ancient buildings, erected beside the pathway, and once used by the tomb-watchmen; and from this eminence one commands a striking view of the temple of Amenhotpe at Medinet Habu. From this point a chasm runs towards the south end of the Valley of the Kings, and measuring 120 average cubits down the slope of this chasm from the outside of these buildings, we find that the tape brings us exactly to a tomb now known as No. 39. This tomb, which has been entirely robbed, and lies open, is of the size of a royal sepulchre. It is entered down a steep flight of steps which brings one to a low doorway; and this entrance and the passages inside are exactly similar to those of the tombs of the early Pharaohs of this dynasty, while the fact that there is no shaft or "well" in it shows that it is earlier than the time of Thutmose III, who was the first king of the dynasty to make a well in his tomb. This sepulchre is but a few yards up the hill from that of Thutmose I in the valley below and is close to those of Thutmose II and Thutmose III; and it answers to the Abbot Papyrus' description so closely that there can be little doubt of this identification, which I proposed some years ago (*Annales*, 1910, 174).

The tomb found by Mr. Carter was probably made by Amenhotpe for his mother, Queen Ahmose-Nofretiri, who seems to have died towards the end of the reign, as explained on page 253; for in it, besides nine fragments of vases inscribed with the name of King Amenhotpe, and three with the name of King Ahmose, there were eight with the name of Queen Ahmose-Nofretiri. Strange to say one fragment bore the names of Princess Herath or Halath and her father King Oeuserre Apopi, the great Hyksos sovereign, who conquered

the whole of Egypt (page 184) ; and this fact suggests that the tomb of that lady was in this vicinity. There is no plausible way of adjusting the Abbott Papyrus description of the tomb of Amenhotpe to this sepulchre, and the 120 cubit measurement cannot be made to tally with it, though Mr. Carter attempts an explanation by supposing that this measurement is the length of the " tomb-passage " itself—the word which I translate " chasm "—plus the depth down one side of an internal shaft and the height up the other side, all of which, added together, make a total not greatly different from 120 cubits. This, however, is too far-fetched to be convincing ; and, indeed, it is more probable that this distance is given as a means of finding the tomb, and hence that it is a surface-measurement. The other tombs mentioned in the Abbott Papyrus have no such measurement of distances, for the reason that they were pyramids and their situation was known ; but the sepulchre of Amenhotpe was a rock-cut tunnel-tomb with concealed entrance, and hence a statement of how to find it was necessary.

DYN. XVIII, 3. TUTHMOSE : OEKHEPERKERE THUTMOSE (I)  
1526-1514 B.C.

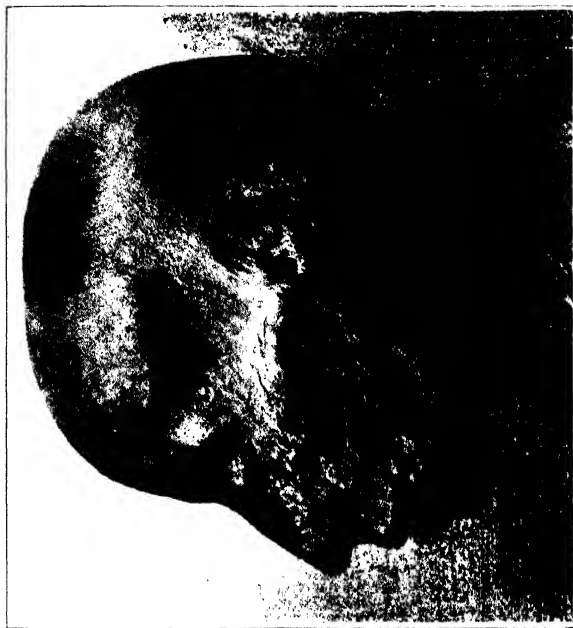
When Amenhotpe I died childless, there must have been much excitement in royal circles in regard to his successor, for one may suppose that there were half-brothers, nephews, and cousins of the late king, some of whom would have been willing to assume the crown. The successful claimant, however, was a certain Prince Thutmose, who seems to have been able to show that Amenhotpe had named him his provisional heir in about the 8th year of his reign (page 256). His relationship to the late Pharaoh is not definitely stated, but it is not difficult to form an opinion in regard to it. In the first place the mummy in the Cairo Museum, No. 61065, which is pretty certainly his, is that of a man of nearly 60 ; yet all the versions of Manetho agree that the new king reigned only 13 years, which makes his age at his accession about 45 or 47, that is to say he was about the same age as, or slightly older than, King Amenhotpe. Therefore he was not his son, as has generally been supposed, but was more probably his half-brother.



THE MUMMY OF THUTMOSE II OF THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY.

The nose, mouth and chin have been slightly restored.

*See page 282.*



THE MUMMY OF THUTMOSE I OF THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY.

The nose, mouth and chin have been slightly restored.

*See page 265.*





Had he been the son of Amenhotpe, who was not more than 45 at most, and probably less, at death, he could not have been more than 25 to 27 at the outside at his accession, and hence would have had to have reigned well over 30 years to have died at the age his mummy shows him to have attained, which is out of the question. Now we know that he married a princess named Ahmose who is almost certainly identical with Ahmose Hent-Temehu, daughter of King Ahmose by a secondary wife, Inhapi (page 247); and this again shows that he was of the same generation as King Amenhotpe. Again, he speaks of his wife, Ahmose, as his sister, and this indicates that he was, like her, a child of King Ahmose. We know, moreover, that he was the son of a lady called Sensonb, who may well have been a secondary wife of King Ahmose. Finally, Thutmose calls himself "king's son of a king's son," which means that his father and grandfather were kings; and thus, since he was not the son of King Amenhotpe, he must have been son of King Ahmose, and grandson of King Seqenenre.

We are to picture him, therefore, as a man in the middle forties when Amenhotpe died; but since he was the son of King Ahmose by this secondary wife, Sensonb, and not by the great queen and heiress Ahmose-Nofretiri, he had not been in the direct line of succession. He had been at first merely one of numerous princes, and was not, like his half-brother King Amenhotpe, of the full blood-royal through both parents. But it seems that he had been recognized as the king's heir for many years, and now that Amenhotpe had died childless, it appears that he had a stronger backing of his candidature than any other member of the royal family; and perhaps his grandmother, the old Queen Ahhotpe, who was still alive, may have given him her support. He was a short, broad-shouldered, stocky man, just over 5 feet in height; with a small, narrow head, showing a good forehead in profile; a delicate, well-shaped nose; the projecting upper teeth characteristic of the family; and a somewhat receding but not weak chin. By the time of his death he had become very wrinkled and completely bald; and there is an expression of shrewdness and cunning about his mouth, which, however, does not detract from a certain general look of refinement.

By a fortunate chance we still possess the proclamation

announcing the coronation of Thutmose, and the date of that event is given as "the 21st day of the 3rd month of the 2nd season," which, in 1526 B.C., would be about March 12th. From this it would appear that Amenhotpe I had reigned not 25 years and 4 months, as Manetho says, but 25 years and 6 months. Perhaps the "4 months" is really the fraction at the end of the reign of Ahmose, whose identity Manetho has confused with that of his successor (page 235); or it may be that the date represents the time at which the proclamation was inscribed, and not the actual date of the accession. The proclamation is preserved on two steles, one found at Wady Halfa (*Zeitschrift*, xxix, 117) and the other found at Kubbân, between Wady Halfa and Aswân (Breasted, *Records*, II, § 54, Note a); and both seem to have been set up for the purpose of establishing the loyalty of the Egyptian armies stationed here in Nubia. It begins with the words "Royal proclamation to the Viceroy and Governor of the South-countries, Thuroy" (page 254), and then proceeds as follows:—"Whereas there is conveyed to you this proclamation of the king to notify you that my Majesty has risen as Reed- and Hornet-king upon the Hawk-throne . . . (therefore) make my titular as follows: the Hawk-king Kenakht-Merimaet (Mighty Bull, beloved of the Goddess of Truth); Lord of the Vulture and the Cobra, Khemnesret-Nakhtpehti (Ascending in the Cobra-diadem, Great in Strength); Hawk of Nubi, Neferronpitu-Senkhibu (Goodly in Years, Refreshing the Hearts); Reed- and Hornet-king, Oekheperkere (Great in the Creation of the Spirit of the Sun-god); Son of the Sun-god, Thutmose (Child of the god Thoth), living for ever and ever. You shall cause sacrifices to be offered to the gods of Iebo (Elephantine) in the South (at a festival which shall be) in the nature of the making of rejoicings in honour of the King Oekheperkere who is endowed with (eternal) life. You shall (also) cause the oath to be taken in the name of my Majesty, born of the Royal Mother Sensonb, who is in (good) health. This is a communication to inform you of the matter, and of the fact that the royal House is well and prosperous."

With regard to the name Thutmose, a word of explanation is necessary. Manetho and the Greek writers render it as Tethmōs(is), Tuthmōs(is), Touthmōs(is), or Thmōs(is), and the

first syllable, when used alone as the name of the god, is generally rendered Thōth. From the Egyptian it is usually transcribed by Egyptologists as *Tehuti*, *Thuti*, *Thut*, or, more exactly, *Dhuti*. The second syllable is sometimes transcribed *mes*, but is more properly *mōse*, or *mōs*, as the Greeks give it. Thus, modern scholars generally favour the rendering Thutmose for the name, but the reader will find it written Thothmes, Tehutimes, Tahutimes, Tethmose, Dhutmose, etc. In regard to the other names of the king it is interesting to notice that from now onwards the only two names which mattered, and which remained simple, were those as Reed- and Hornet-king and as Son of the Sun-god, the latter being the personal name. In earlier times the name as Hawk-king was in common use, and was as important as any other name ; but now we find the Pharaoh's names as Hawk-king, Hawk of Nubi, and Lord of the Vulture and the Cobra, extended into long sentences which vary considerably, so that one is inclined to think that, as the coronation ceremonies grew more elaborate, the Pharaoh had to be given a special name in each important centre. For instance, Thutmose I as Hawk-king is not only called Kenakht-Merimaet, as in his proclamation quoted above, but also Kenakht-Enkhemmaet, "Mighty Bull, Living in Truth," Kenakht-Pehtimiamon, "Mighty Bull, Strong like Amon," and so on.

The name "Mighty Bull" seems well to have suited the new Pharaoh, for he soon proved himself to possess the fighting qualities of his father Ahmose and his grandfather Sequenre. The negroes of the Sudan had apparently been causing some trouble of late, and Thutmose at once made up his mind to take a personal hand in their suppression, but, since it was already the middle of March before his coronation took place, it was then too late to open hostilities, for the hot weather was approaching, and no Egyptian army had ever been known to wage war in the Sudan in summer time. But no sooner had the weather begun to cool, early in September, than he sailed up stream with his escorting fleet of battleships to join his army in the south ; for at that time of year the Nile was in flood, and it was an easy matter to take the ships up the Cataracts, which, at the season of low Nile, were so dangerous as sometimes to be almost impassable. He must have reached

Tombos, just above the Third Cataract, towards the end of September, but it seems that he found the negroes, who still remembered their defeat at the hands of Amenhotpe I, unwilling to fight; and whatever trouble there was at the frontier was quickly quelled, and the disaffected leader deposed. A tablet was then set up to commemorate his visit, inscribed with a pæan of exaggerated flattery, perhaps composed by the Viceroy Thuroy, who must have been anxious to retain the office he had held during the previous reign. This inscription begins with the calendar date—"15th day of the 2nd month of the 1st season," which corresponds to about October 7th, and it is dated in "Year 2"; for New Year's Day in 1526 B.C. fell on August 23rd or 24th, and, according to the Egyptian custom, the 2nd year of a reign began on the New Year's Day following the accession (page 21). The first lines speak of the Pharaoh as having seated himself upon the sacred throne, while all parts of Egypt pay their respects to him, the people of the north coming up-stream to Thebes, and the people of the south going down-stream to that royal city, at his behest, the Bedouin and other tribesmen doing obeisance to the royal cobra which is on his forehead, while the Haunebu (a name afterwards applied to Greeks), and the Equebtu (an unidentified race) are in bondage. Then it proceeds: "He has deposed (?) the chief of the Nubians, and the negro is helplessly in his grip. He has joined up his frontiers on both sides (of the river), and there is not a man remaining amongst the people of the crimped hair who would come to attack him, for there was not a single survivor amongst those (who did so before). The Nubian Bedouin (then) fell by the sword, or were scattered over their territory, so that (the odour of) their putrefying (bodies) flooded their valleys, and at the mouths (of their ravines) it was like a violent flood; for their remains were too much for the vultures to pick from them, or carry away as their prey to another place. . . . (Moreover) the lords of the palace made this fortress for his army (here at Tombos); and none among the hostile tribes will face it, for, like a young panther amongst a herd in flight, so the fame of his Majesty has dazzled them. He has brought the corners of the earth under his dominion, and he patrols its two ends, his mighty sword in hand, looking for a fight, but finding no

one who will face him. (His fame has) penetrated to regions which his ancestors did not know, and which the (former) wearers of the double crown had not seen, (so that) his southern boundary is (fixed) as far away as the limit of this land (of the Sudân), and his northern as far off as (the limit of the land of) that inverted river which flows down-stream in an upstream direction." This refers to the river Euphrates, which surprised the Egyptians by flowing southwards instead of northwards like the Nile ; and since Syria at this time was a defenceless country which had been more or less under the thumb of Egypt since Ahmose invaded it 30 years ago, the boast could well be made that the Pharaoh's frontiers met those of the kingdoms of the Euphrates beyond.

The Pharaoh seems to have spent the whole winter campaigning against the negroes, for at Tangûr, some 75 miles above the Second Cataract, there is a rock-inscription recording the return of the expedition to Egypt (*Proceedings Soc. Bib. Arch.*, vii, 121), dated "Year 2, 1st month of 3rd season," which corresponds to the period between April 20th and May 20th, the end of the winter campaigning season. (Breasted, *Records*, II, p. 28, Note *b*, incorrectly states that the expedition was then on its way out, not on its return.) On the island of Arko, some 40 miles south of the Third Cataract, a stela giving his name has been seen but is not published (Wilkinson, *Thebes*, 472).

This expedition to the Third Cataract and beyond was evidently a severe campaign ; but in the following year, the 3rd of the reign, even more serious operations in this region were undertaken in the winter for the purpose of stopping the constant raids across the frontier made by the Nubian tribesmen or Bedouin. Ahmose-son-of-Ebana, the naval officer whose acquaintance we have already made in the previous reigns, gives a brief account of this campaign :—"I piloted (the royal ship) when King Oekheperkere (Thutmose) ascended the river to Khenthennofre in order to stop the lawlessness in the uplands and to suppress the raids from the desert hills. (On the way up) I (happened to) show bravery in his presence in the rough water during the passage of the ship round the Bend, and he appointed me Chief of the Sailors." Here a break in the inscription interrupts the story, but it appears

that a desert chieftain with his followers either came boldly to the royal camp to defy the Pharaoh, or else that some sort of accidental meeting took place, so that Thutmose and this chieftain found themselves face to face. The latter apparently called for a single combat, and here the inscription can again be picked up:—" . . . At this, his Majesty was as furious as a panther, and his Majesty hurled his spear, and that first (spear) transfixed the body of the wretched man, who was powerless before the flaming cobra (on the royal forehead). It was done in an instant of destruction, and his men were taken as living prisoners. Then his Majesty sailed downstream, having all these regions (well) in hand, and (the body of) that miserable Nubian chieftain was hung up head downwards at the prow of the king's warship."

This campaign is also mentioned by Ahmose-Pennekheb, who says: "I followed King Oekheperkere, and captured for him in Kush two living prisoners, besides three others whom I (also) took in Kush, but did not count (officially)." On his way back the Pharaoh stopped near the island of Sehêl at the First Cataract while the channel made by Sesusri III (page 86) was being cleared; and when this was done his vessel passed safely down the cataract on the 22nd day of the 1st month of the 3rd season. This calendar-date corresponds to May 12th, when the weather must have been growing exceedingly hot, and the end of the regular campaigning season had already been overreached. An inscription on the rocks of Sehêl records the event, and, having given the above date, says: "His Majesty ordered this channel to be dug out, after he had found it stopped up with stones, so that no ship could sail upon it. He (then) sailed down-stream along it in gladness of heart, having destroyed his enemies" (de Morgan, *Cat. Mon.*, 85). Another inscription at Sehêl, dated on the same day, reads: "His Majesty sailed along this channel in triumph and might, on his return from overthrowing Kush the wretched" (*Recueil*, xiii, 202). On the same day the king arrived at Iebo (Elephantine), and on the rocks of the mainland at Aswân is an inscription reading "His Majesty arrived from Kush, having overthrown the enemy" (de Morgan, *Cat. Mon.*, 41). Since the return journey down the Nile must have been made against the prevalent north wind, it is not to be

supposed that the decomposing body of the Nubian chieftain was left for long hanging on the prow of the boat. That little piece of barbarism was for the benefit of the army and the negroes lining the banks of the river at the outset of the journey home.

A few years later—the exact date is unknown—this sturdy and warlike little Pharaoh embarked on an enterprise which changed the whole course of Egyptian history. If the reader will consult a map he will see that in northern Syria, between Damascus and Antioch, the river Euphrates, flowing down from the mountains of Armenia into Mesopotamia, runs for a considerable distance parallel with the Mediterranean coast, there being not more than 100 to 150 miles between them. At the point on this river where it approaches closest to the sea, in the land of Naharin, stood the city of Carchemish, some 400 miles west of Nineveh and 600 miles north-west of Babylon. As the crow flies Carchemish was about 750 miles north-east of Memphis, but to reach it from Egypt one had to travel either by sea or land along the Syrian coast, past Tyre and Sidon, and on northwards until some place was reached which was a convenient starting-point for the journey inland, north-eastwards, across the Lebanon, and on, by way of Aleppo, to the Euphrates.

It seems that the Syrians had been making friends with the people of Naharin to the detriment of Egypt, and some incident must have occurred which gave the Pharaoh an excuse or a justification for a punitive expedition. At any rate, we suddenly find him invading Syria, marching with a vast army across the Lebanon, and so reaching the Euphrates, where never before had the Egyptian standards been seen. Unfortunately there are no records of this great campaign, with the exception of the brief chronicle left us by Ahmose-son-of-Ebana, and a still briefer mention of it made by Ahmose Pennekheb. Ahmose-son-of-Ebana was now over 65 years of age, as a reference to the beginning of his biography (page 244) will show, yet his story shows him taking an active part in the fighting. "After these things," he says, referring to the Nubian campaign recorded above, "the king went into Retenu (Syria) to wash his heart amongst the foreign countries," "washing the heart" being an idiom for clearing up



a matter in dispute, and obtaining satisfaction. "His Majesty arrived at the land of Naharin, and came upon that enemy (at the moment) when he was planning (our) destruction, and his Majesty made a great slaughter amongst them, (while) numberless were the living prisoners which his Majesty brought back from his victories. Meanwhile, I was at the head of our troops, and his Majesty was witness of my gallantry. I captured a chariot, its horses, and the man who was in it as a living prisoner, and took them to his Majesty, and he presented me with gold in double measure, for although I had grown elderly, and (indeed) had reached old age, my honours were as at the beginning." Ahmose Pennekheb, who was now about 50 years of age, records the campaign thus:—"Again I served under King Oekheperkere, and I captured for him in the land of Naharin, 21 hands and a horse and chariot." Before he left the banks of the Euphrates the Pharaoh caused a tablet to be set up recording his victory, and, as will be read on page 374, Thutmose III, many years later, found it there, and set up another beside it.

Here was a new state of affairs for the Egyptian nation. In the past they had always been a mild and unwarlike people, given, perhaps, to occasional petty wars and rebellions, yet not fond of campaigning on the grand scale. But the great war against the Hyksos, the siege and capture of Avaris, and the pursuit of the enemy into Syria, had excited them to great enthusiasm; and men like Ahmose-son-of-Ebana, who had fought in that war, were still alive to talk about it. King Thutmose himself must have been brought up on the stories of those stirring days, and it is possible that he had accompanied his father King Ahmose on his second campaign in Syria in the 21st year of that reign: at least, he would have been old enough at that time to have done so. Since that day there had been two or three Nubian campaigns and a war against the Libyans; but now the army had a king to lead them who was a born fighting man, and who had killed that Nubian chieftain with his own hand, and under him they were ready to attempt the conquest of the whole world. The Pharaoh had led them to strange lands entirely different from their own, where they had sacked towns and cities curiously built, and had chased odd-looking people across fantastic

landscapes : through gardens of outlandish flowers, through orchards of unknown fruit-trees, over fields of peculiar grain, and into woods of amazing trees. It had all been so easy, too : these small, disunited Syrian tribes had not been able to stand up to the well-drilled, well-organized Egyptian army, with its strong contingents of negro warriors of incredible bravery. Nothing had stopped the invaders except a disinclination to go further ; and when they had returned at length to the Nile they must have left behind them in Syria and Naharin a memory which could be expected to keep those countries tributary and fearful for years to come. Henceforth Egypt was a military nation, always ready to fight its neighbours : a little too pleased with itself now and inclined to boast, perhaps, but nevertheless a bold and dominant military power in a world which was beginning to arm itself on all sides.

Somewhere about the year 1535 B.C.—the 17th year or thereabouts of the reign of the late Amenhotpe I—Thutmose, it seems, who was then heir apparent, had married his half-sister, Princess Ahmose Hent-Temehu. He was about 36 years of age at that time, and the Princess was perhaps about 17. In about 1528 B.C., between one and two years before Amenhotpe died, when Thutmose was about 43, as has been said, and his wife may have been 24, a daughter was born to the royal couple who was given the good old Twelfth Dynasty name Hetshepsut, and who was afterwards the famous queen (page 296). King Thutmose already had other children, some by secondary wives ; and one in particular must be noticed—Prince Thutmose—born about 1534 B.C., for he afterwards came to the throne as Thutmose II. His mother was named Mutnofret, one of the secondary wives of Thutmose I. He was a boy of about 6 when his little half-sister Hetshepsut was born ; and when Thutmose I came to the throne, Hetshepsut was 2 years old and Prince Thutmose was 8. The king's eldest son, Prince Amenmose, had died. On a stone vessel the following inscription referring to this prince is written (Breasted, *Records*, II, 811) : “ In the Year 4 of the reign of Thutmose I, the eldest son of the king, Amenmose, (who was) Commander in Chief of the army of his father, went out to take a walk for his pleasure. . . . ” Unfortunately,

this is all that is left of the inscription, but it shows that Thutmose I was old enough in his " Year 4 " to have a son at the head of his army. This is in accord with my calculations, for, according to me, Thutmose would then have been nearly 50, and his eldest son would therefore have been over 30 years of age. The subsequent disappearance of this Prince Amenmose shows that he must have died shortly after. A second son, Prince Uthmose, had also died. Both he and his brother, Amenmose, are represented in the tomb of Peheri at El Kâb (Weigall, *Guide*, 323), and Uthmose is there shown as a little boy seated on Peheri's knee. When this Uthmose died a mortuary temple was erected in his honour in the Theban necropolis, and there a stela has been found, showing him standing behind his father Thutmose I. The loss of these two sons must have been the cause of great sorrow to Thutmose I ; and, as we shall presently see, he seems to have devoted himself to the little Princess Hetshepsut, and to have ignored his third son Thutmose, who ultimately succeeded him.

Early in the reign of Thutmose I, the old Queen Ahhotpe died at about the age of 90, and with her there passed away one of the great dynastic figures, the span of whose life linked these great and triumphant times with those far-off and dangerous days when she and her brother Seqenenre, children of Queen Totisheri, had lived at the impoverished Theban court, then vassal to the Hyksos king Apopi. Later, she had married her brother, and had gone through that terrible time when the war with Apopi broke out, and Seqenenre was killed. After that it is possible that she was married to Kemose, and, at the close of his short reign, she had seen her son Ahmose triumph over the Hyksos king. Then her grandson Amenhotpe had come to the throne, and now her other grandson Thutmose had succeeded him ; and she may have lived long enough to hear how he had fixed the northern frontier of Egypt at the river Euphrates. An inscribed gravestone has been found at Edfu, on which a certain priest, named Yuf, gives us the last record of this great queen (*Recueil*, ix, 92). At the top of this monument he and his son are represented standing before two queens, one of them being Ahhotpe, and the other " The King's Sister and King's Wife, Sobkemsuf," who had been the queen of Nubkheperure Intefoe of the

Seventeenth Dynasty (about 1650 B.C.), and may have been grandmother or great-grandmother of Ahhotpe (page 202). The inscription begins with a prayer to the spirits of Ahhotpe and of her son King Ahmose; and then Yuf writes: "I repaired this tomb of the King's Daughter, Sobkemsuf, after finding it beginning to go into ruins"—which shows that that queen was buried at Edfu, in the neighbourhood of the ancestral home of the Seventeenth Dynasty (page 192), and that Yuf belonged to that city. Then he goes on: "O you who pass by this tablet, I will tell you and will cause you to know how I was favoured by the great Queen Ahhotpe. She appointed me to make the mortuary sacrifices to her (spirit), and she placed me in charge of the funerary-statue of her Majesty. She assigned to me (out of the offerings) 100 loaves of bread, 10 cakes, 2 jars of beer, and a joint from every ox (sacrificed), and I was given land on the high ground (of the desert) and in the plain (beside the Nile). Moreover, she conferred on me another favour: she gave me all her property in Edfu to administer for her. (Also) another favour (was conferred on me) by the great Queen Ahmose, deceased, whom the late King Oekheperkere (Thutmose I) loved. She appointed me to be scribe of the Deputy Treasurer. She placed in my charge the mortuary statue of her Majesty, gave me 100 loaves of bread, 2 jars of beer, and a joint from every ox (sacrificed), and endowed me with lands." From these words one can see that Yuf set up this tablet after the death of Thutmose I and his queen, and it is to be presumed that the death of Ahhotpe had taken place some years previously, probably in the early part of the reign of Thutmose I.

The body of Queen Ahhotpe was found in a large coffin under the sand of the northern part of the necropolis of Thebes, where it appears to have been buried by later priests to save it from robbery, after being removed from its endangered tomb. The coffin and mummy were taken to the Cairo Museum, but though the coffin is exhibited there, I do not know what has become of the mummy. The jewellery found upon it and in the coffin is famous. On the body were three beautiful bracelets, a superb diadem, and a chain with a pendant scarab, which is one of the finest known, these objects being inscribed with the name of King Ahmose, which fact

indicates that the funeral equipment was provided in that reign, it being the Egyptian custom to make these preparations comparatively early in life. There was also a great necklace consisting of at least ten rows of small gold pendants of various forms. Within the outer wrappings of the mummy there was a magnificent battle-axe and a dagger, both inscribed with the name of Ahmose. Several objects belonging to King Kemose (page 220) were found in the coffin, but none of these were under the wrappings of the mummy, and therefore were not necessarily part of the original burial.

After the Syrian campaign there were no more wars in the reign, and during the ensuing years of peace, the building operations of Thutmose I were extensive. A large stela found at Abydos (Mariette, *Abydos*, II, 31) records some of his works in the temple of Osiris in that city, and puts into the mouth of the king the following words: "My Majesty did these things for my father Osiris, because I loved him so much more than all the gods, and in order that my name might abide and my memorials endure in the temple of my father Osiris-Khenti of the Western Necropolis, Lord of Abydos, for ever and ever. (And now to) you, priests of this temple, (I say): You shall make offerings at my cenotaph, and at my altar, you shall maintain the memorials of my Majesty, you shall make mention of my name, you shall remember my titles, you shall give praise to my image, you shall honour the statue of my Majesty. Set my name in the mouth of your servants, my memory among your children. For I am a king who is worthy (of this) because of what he has accomplished . . . and there is no lie (in what I am saying) to you, nor exaggeration in it. I have made monuments for the gods; I have beautified their sanctuaries for the future; I have safeguarded their temples; I have restored that which was dilapidated; I have increased that which was done before. I have informed the priests of their duties, and have directed the ignorant in that which they did not know. I have surpassed the work of the other kings who were before me, and the gods are joyful in my time, and their temples are in festivity. I have set the boundaries of Egypt as far as the circuit of the sun. I have made courageous those who were afraid, for I have banished the menace from them, and have made Egypt the superior of every land."

The address of the grateful priests to him is as follows :  
 " How gratifying is this to the hearts of the people !—how good it is in the sight of the gods ! (For) you have made a monument for Osiris, and have beautified Khenti of the Western Necropolis, the great god of the beginning (of history) . . . for whom kings have laboured since this land was founded. And as for you, you are born of him ; he made you in the uprightness of his heart, to do that which he (himself) did (when he was) on earth. . . . Yours is the gold, and yours is the silver ; for Geb (the earth-god) has revealed to you that which is inside him, and Ptah (the Divine Artificer) has given you his works (also). All countries labour for you ; all lands are under your rule ; and every precious stone is gathered into your house. If there is a wish in your heart it is accomplished ; for that which your spirit desires happens."

At Nubi (Ombos), between Abydos and Thebes, he erected a temple to Set. At Medinet Habu, in the Theban necropolis, he completed the unfinished mortuary temple of Amenhotpe I, and, indeed, appropriated it for his own service (Weigall, *Guide*, 244). At Ibrim in Lower Nubia there was a rock-shrine which was made in this reign (Champollion, *Lettres*, 1868, p. 114), though I never found any trace of it. At Semneh in the Sudan a list of gifts to Amon bears his name (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 47) ; while at Kummeh, on the opposite side of the Nile, there are remains of his work (III, 59). But his most important building-works were executed at Karnak ; and in regard to these it will be as well to quote the biography of the noble Ineni (page 262), who rose in this reign to a position of great importance in the architectural world. His description of the Pharaoh is interesting, and shows how great a national hero he had become. " Lord of might," he calls him, " who struck down the Nubians, and overthrew the Asiatics. He made his frontiers as far away as the Horns of the Earth. The (lawless people of) the marshes of Qebah (in Lower Egypt, were under his rule, as were the desert tribesmen of) Elephantine. (Even) the Bedouin brought in their tribute in the manner of the (ordinary) taxes of the South and North. His Majesty forwarded them (all) to Thebes each year, for his father Amon."

Ineni then goes on : " Everything was made to prosper

for me under (this king). He occupied his mind with me, (so that) I was raised to be a high official, and Overseer of the Granaries. The fields (from which) the divine offerings (were obtained) were under my authority, and all important works were grouped under my administration. I inspected the great monuments which he made (at Karnak). . . ." (Here there is a break.) " . . . (a gateway) with great pylons on either side, made of the fine limestone of Ayan. Imposing flagstaffs were erected at the double façade of the temple : they were of new cedar (procured) from the best of the hillsides of Lebanon, and their tops were of electrum. I inspected (also) the . . . wrought with electrum. I supervised the erection of the great doorway (named) 'Amon, Mighty in Riches' : its huge door was of Asiatic copper, on which the divine Shadow was inlaid in gold. I inspected the erection of two obelisks. . . . I built a big raft of 120 cubits in length (over 200 feet) and 40 cubits in width (nearly 70 feet), in order to transport these obelisks (from the quarries at Aswân). They came (down the Nile) peacefully, safely, and successfully, and were landed at Karnak. . . ."

It is important to notice Ineni's reference to these two obelisks, which are still to be seen at Karnak. One of them was certainly erected in the reign of Thutmose I, for it is inscribed with his names ; but the other bears the names of Thutmose III, a fact which has somewhat puzzled archæologists, because Thutmose III did not come to the throne until many years after the death of Thutmose I, and it is difficult to understand how the second obelisk could have stood uninscribed for that length of time. One would have expected that it would have been appropriated by Thutmose II, who succeeded Thutmose I ; and, in fact, Sethe has seen in this an indication that Thutmose III followed immediately after Thutmose I for a brief time, but was deposed, and then came to the throne again later. But it must be remembered that Ineni lived on into the reign of Thutmose III ; and, although he brought the two obelisks to Karnak in the reign of Thutmose I, only one of them may have then been erected, and the other may have lain uninscribed on the ground, just as did a later obelisk (page 396), until at last the great and lengthy business of erecting it, delayed owing to other building opera-

tions on the spot, was undertaken by Thutmose III. Ineni may have still been in charge of the work, and therefore in his biographical inscription, one may suppose, he spoke of the erection of the two obelisks together, although the one was set up many years after the other. The great pylons referred to in the above inscription still stand in front of that part of the temple of Karnak which is behind the later great Hypostyle Hall; and east of them there is another great pylon-gateway, perhaps that which Ineni calls "Amon Mighty in Riches." Some pillars and other parts of this Pharaoh's buildings are also to be seen at Karnak. On the obelisk inscribed under Thutmose I, the dedication gives the king's name and titles, and says: "He made this as his memorial for his father Amon-Re, preparing for him two great obelisks to be erected at the double-façade of the temple, their caps being of (copper)." Part of a third obelisk on the island of Elephantine (Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, V, 1220), is all that remains of two which were erected about the same time in the temple of that city. The inscription says: "He made this as his memorial of his father Khnum (the god of Elephantine), making for him two obelisks of granite on the occasion of his first jubilee." The jubilee marked the completion of 30 years since the Pharaoh was appointed as heir to the throne, and as Thutmose I reigned 13 years we may judge that he had been recognized as heir some 17 years before he actually succeeded (page 264).

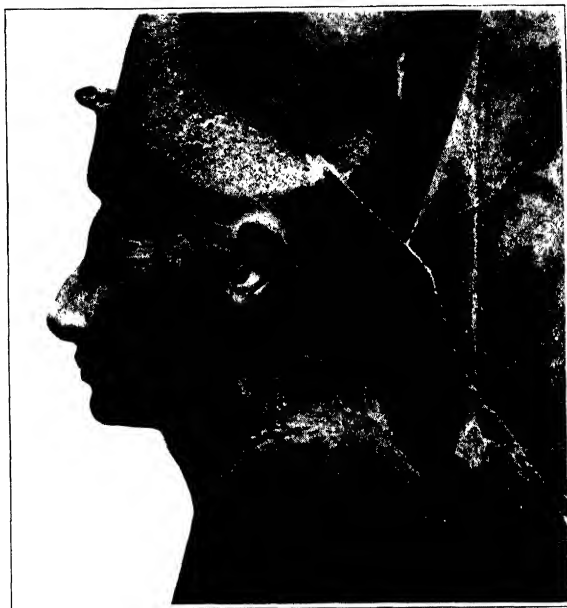
The architect, Inene tells us of his prosperity in this reign. "My praise," he says, "was continuous at the palace, and I was beloved at the court. His Majesty presented me with peasant-serfs, and my allowance was (drawn) daily from the granary of the king's (personal) estate." He speaks with pride, too, of the works he carried out in the Theban necropolis in the building and restoring of the tombs there. "My mind was (ever) on the look-out," he says, "searching for the best materials. I made clay-fields, in order to plaster (the walls of) the tombs of the necropolis, which was a piece of work such as the ancestors had not done, but which I found it necessary to do there. . . . I made experiments (?) (with various clays?) for the benefit of those who should come after me; and this was a work of my (own) mind, wisdom being my virtue, nor was (any) command given to me (in this respect)



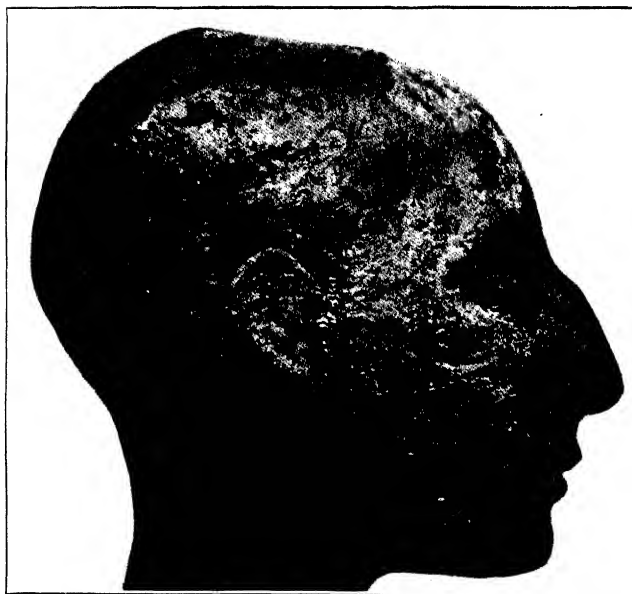
by an elder ; and I shall be praised because of my wisdom in after-years by those who shall imitate that which I did . . . while I was Chief of Works."

In another striking passage Ineni says : " I supervised the excavation of the cliff-tomb of his Majesty, alone, no one seeing, no one hearing," and this phrase gives us an idea of the great secrecy in which the royal sepulchres were made at this period. Apparently in the chaotic period previous to the rise of the Seventeenth Dynasty some of the Pharaonic tombs had been plundered, and the gold and jewels stolen ; and now it had become necessary to hide the royal sepulchres so that the thieves should not be able to find them. With this object in view the late King Amenhotpe had abandoned the old burial-ground of his ancestors, at the north end of the Theban necropolis, and had made his tomb on the summit of the cliffs at the south end of the necropolis, as I have described on page 262. Thutmose I decided to make a sepulchre for himself close to that of his father, and he chose a site at the southern corner of the great valley which is now famous as the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings, but which was at that time a remote and desolate ravine, untouched by man. This spot was at the bottom of the chasm in the upper part of which the tomb of Amenhotpe had been hewn. For the sake of secrecy the entrance of the new tomb was small and rough—a mere hole at the cliff's foot, just high enough to admit a man standing upright. A flight of steps led down to a square room cut out of the rock, and thence a second flight led on to the burial-hall, the roof of which was supported by one central column. The walls of this hall were smoothed over with some of that plaster of which Ineni speaks ; and a sarcophagus of quartzite sandstone was dragged down and placed here for the reception of the king's coffin. Only some fragments of this sarcophagus now remain (Weigall, *Guide*, 223).

The Pharaoh seems to have been in ill health during the last months of his reign ; for he made an attempt to settle the question of the succession, which suggests that he knew his days were numbered. At this time his daughter Hetshepsut must have been about 15 years of age (page 273), having been born about 1528 B.C. She, being the only surviving child of his marriage with his half-sister, Ahmose Hent-Temehu, was



THE HEAD OF A STATUE OF THUTMOSE III AS A YOUNG MAN.  
FROM KARNAK.  
*See page 341.*



THE MUMMY OF THUTMOSE III.  
The nose, mouth and chin have been restored from portraits at Dér el-Bahri  
and elsewhere.  
*See page 341.*



of the blood-royal by both parents, and was heiress of the land ; and many years afterwards, when she was reigning as an actual Pharaoh, she put it on record that her father had always intended her to succeed to the throne, and, in fact, that he had presented her to the court as their queen (page 305). But, as has already been said (page 273) Thutmose I had a son, Prince Thutmose, who must now have been aged about 20 or 21. That is to say he was some 6 years older than Hetshepsut. He, however, was born of a secondary wife, named Mutnofret, and therefore, not being of the full blood royal, had not been chosen as Crown Prince, for there was still the possibility that Queen Ahmose Hent-Temehu would present the king with a son, who would be of pure royal blood through both parents. Failing that, I suppose Thutmose I realized that this Prince Thutmose would succeed him, and would marry Hetshepsut in order to strengthen his claim to the throne ; but for the moment he did not definitely appoint him his successor. It may be, too, that he was not very fond of the young man, who seems to have been something of a dandy, and of a very different character to that of his father ; while, on the other hand, little Princess Hetshepsut was obviously his pet.

Matters stood in this wise when Thutmose I suddenly died ; and it would seem from his mummy that he was just under 60 years of age—let us call it 58—having reigned exactly 13 years. In the list of the reigns in this dynasty given by Josephus (page 235) it will have been noticed that there is a fraction of months at the end of every reign except that of Thutmose I, who is given exactly 13 years without a fraction. According to the ancient Egyptian method of reckoning, by which the regnal years are made to coincide with the calendar years, as explained on page 21, this would mean that the king died on New Year's Day (then corresponding to August 21st), the day which would have begun his 14th year ; and that this is the actual fact seems to me to be proved by an inscription recorded on page 306, in which Queen Hetshepsut, this king's daughter, states that she began her rightful reign on New Year's Day. Of his death Ineni writes : " The king rested from life, and went forth to heaven, having completed his years in gladness of heart."

He was buried in the tomb which had been prepared for him by Ineni ; but a few years later his body was transferred to the tomb of his daughter Hetshepsut, as will be related on page 320. Centuries afterwards, the priests removed all the royal mummies they could find to the hiding-place at Dêr el-Bahri, and the body of this king was found there when this common sepulchre was discovered, and is now in the Cairo Museum, together with the coffin.

DYN. XVIII, 4. TUTHMOSE : OEKHEPERENRE THUTMOSE  
(II)

1513-1494 B.C.

Prince Thutmose, son of Thutmose I and of the secondary queen Mutnofret, was immediately proclaimed Pharaoh on the death of his father. He was then a young man of 21 years of age ; and it is to be presumed that he was at once married to his half-sister, the little Princess Hetshepsut, then not more than 15 years of age (page 273), who was the daughter of Thutmose I by the chief queen, Ahmose Hent-Temehu, and hence was heiress of the kingdom. If Hetshepsut's later statements are to be believed, and there is no reason to doubt them, this was against the wishes of the dead king, who had never appointed Prince Thutmose as his successor, and would have preferred his daughter to reign alone.

The new king was an elegant young man, about 5 foot 8 inches in height, broad-shouldered, but not very strong (Elliot Smith, *Cat. Cairo Mus.*). He had a larger and more intelligent head than his warlike little father, but the same projecting upper teeth are again in evidence, and the chin, once more, is somewhat receding. His hair was wavy and of a dark brown colour ; but at the time of his death, when he was about 40, he was already going bald, and it is possible that his remaining locks were then artificially curled, so as to make the best of them. His finger- and toe-nails were very carefully trimmed, and, indeed, there must have been a general air of refinement about him, which is in accord with the gentle and somewhat effeminate expression of his face. His character, in fact, seems to have been the very opposite of that of Hetshepsut, and, as will presently be seen, there appears

to have been an estrangement between them during most of the reign.

As Hawk-king he took the name Kenakht-Usrpehti, "Mighty Bull, Strong and Powerful"; as Lord of the Vulture and the Cobra he was called Neterinsi, "Divine in Kingship"; as Hawk of Nubi his name was Sekhemkheperu, "Ruling (all) Creation"; as Reed- and Hornet-king he was called Oekheperenre, "Great in the Creation belonging to the Sun-god"; and as Son of the Sun-god he was called by his personal name Thutmose, to which were sometimes added words such as *Neferkhen*, "Fortunate in Ascensions," *Amensi*, "Son of Amon," *Setepenamon*, "Chosen of Amon," *Hiqwas*, "Prince of Thebes," *Nethtire*, "Defender of the Sun-god," and so forth.

The architect Ineni, having stated that Thutmose I "rested from life," adds: "(Then) the (new) Hawk in the (royal) nest appeared as the Reed- and Hornet-king Oekheperenre, who became King of the Black Lands (the Cultivation) and Ruler of the Red Lands (the Desert), having taken possession of the Two Lands (of Egypt) in triumph." This inscription is important because it disproves Sethe's theory (*Untersuchungen*, I, 19) that Thutmose III reigned for a few years immediately after Thutmose I, and was later deposed by Thutmose II, coming to the throne again on the latter's death. Actually Thutmose III was not yet born.

The reign began with the rapid suppression of a rebellion in the neighbourhood of the Third Cataract, the story of which is told in an inscription (Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, I, 81) cut on the rocks on the road between Aswân and Shallâl, and dated "Year 1, 8th day of the 2nd month of the 1st season," corresponding to September 28th, that is to say just over 5 weeks after the death of Thutmose I, which, as will be remembered, took place on New Year's Day, August 21st. It reads: "Upon the day of the appearance of King Oekheperenre, Son of the Sun-god, Thutmose, upon the Hawk-throne (i.e. on the day of his accession) . . . his Majesty was in the palace . . . (when) a messenger came to him with a letter reading as follows: 'The wretched land of Kush has begun a rebellion, and those who were under the dominion of the king are planning revolt and are about to strike at him. The inhabitants

of Egypt are beginning to remove their cattle from beyond this fortress which your father, King Oekheperkere (Thutmose I), living for ever, built during his campaigns for the purpose of preventing the rebellious barbarians, the Nubian Bedouin of Khenthennofer, from (attacking) those who live here on the north of the wretched land of Kush. (The rebels? are under the command of?) those two Nubian Bedouin who are of the family of that chieftain of the wretched Land of Kush who (fell?) before the Lord of the Two Lands. . . .” Perhaps this refers to the Nubian chieftain killed by Thutmose I, as recorded on page 270. It should be noticed that the writer of the letter did not know, of course, that Thutmose I had just died, and therefore spoke of him “living for ever,” a phrase used of a living king.

The inscription then proceeds: “On hearing this his Majesty was as furious as a panther, and he exclaimed ‘I swear as Re (the sun-god) loves me, as my father Amon blesses me, I will not let a single one of the men of that family live!’ Then his Majesty dispatched a large force into Nubia on this his first campaign, in order to overthrow all those who were in rebellion against his Majesty or hostile to the Lord of the Two Lands. But when this force reached wretched Kush (they found that?) the troops of his Majesty (on the spot?) had (already) overthrown those barbarians. Then, according to all that his Majesty had commanded, they did not allow any one amongst the males (of that family) to live, with the exception of one of the children of the chieftain of wretched Kush, who was brought back alive as a living prisoner with his people to the place where his Majesty was. These (prisoners) were placed at the feet of the king, for his Majesty had appeared upon his throne (here at Aswân?) when the living captives which the forces of his Majesty had taken were brought in. (Thus) this land (of Nubia) was made subject to his Majesty as formerly, and the people rejoiced, the chiefs were happy, and they gave praise to the Lord of the Two Lands.” One may suppose that the king had gone up to Aswân with the object of joining the army in Nubia, but was met there by the returning expedition which had been up to the Third Cataract and back in less than five weeks, the high level of the Nile at this time of year having made the passage of the

cataracts a simple matter ; and it seems therefore that he held his court while encamped on the desert plain behind Aswân, and there received his officers and their prisoners. It may be recalled that the young Pharaoh Merenre Mehtiemwosef of the Sixth Dynasty (Vol. I, p. 237), more than a thousand years earlier, held a " court " here in the Aswân desert, and it may have been a customary thing to do. Scholars have always supposed that the calendar-date given at the head of this inscription was intended to be read in conjunction with the opening sentence ; that is to say it was the date of the king's accession or of his coronation. But it was not the usual Egyptian custom to head a record of this kind with the date of a past event about to be described : the date was that of the writing of the record, and in the case in question the coronation is only the beginning of the story narrated. It must be admitted, of course, that 5 weeks is a surprisingly short time into which to cram the dispatch of a force to the Third Cataract, the rounding up of the rebels, the return journey to Aswân, and the presenting of the prisoners to the Pharaoh ; but if, as I suppose, the rebellion had already been suppressed by the Egyptian troops stationed at the Third Cataract by the time that the relieving force arrived there, and that all the latter had to do was to execute some of the prisoners belonging to the immediate family of the rebel leader, and bring the other prisoners down the flooded Nile to Aswân, the period of 5 weeks would be ample. The student will see that the point is of importance in showing that I am correct in dating the death of Thutmose I and the accession of Thutmose II to New Year's Day, as I do on page 281, thereby confirming Manetho's figure of exactly 13 years for the reign of the former.

At the beginning of this inscription the new Pharaoh is referred to in some interesting terms of flattery. " His fame is mighty," we read ; " the fear of him is in (all) the land ; the terror of him is in the lands of the Hannebu (on the Delta sea-coast) ; the two divisions of Horus and Set (see Vol. I, p. 89) are under his charge ; the Nine Bows (the name for the tribesmen traditionally hostile to Egypt) are gathered together at his feet ; the Asiatics come to him bringing their tribute ; and the Nubian Bedouin (come) bringing their baskets



(of produce). His southern boundary is as far distant as the Horus of the Earth, and his northern (boundary) as far distant as the ends (of the Earth) ; the marshes of Asia are under the dominion of his Majesty ; and the arm of his messenger is not held back from amongst the lands of the Fenkhu (page 251)." And at the end of the inscription are the words : " These things came to pass by reason of the renown of his Majesty, because his father Amon loves him so much more than any king who has existed since the beginning (of history)." It will thus be seen that the young man began his reign in great promise ; but his character seems to have been too mild to compete with that of his wife, and as soon as she was full grown she began to assert herself and to relegate the king to the background.

This Pharaoh's name has been found on fragments at Gebel Barkal at the Fourth Cataract, which looks as though the Egyptian dominions had been extended to this point during the reign (Wilkinson, *Thebes*, 472). A very fragmentary inscription in the temple of Dêr el-Bahri (Naville, *Deir el-Bahari*, III, 80) seems to refer to a campaign in Syria undertaken by Thutmose II, but it is too disjointed to quote ; and Ahmose-Pennekheb refers to a war against the Shasu, or Bedouin living on the Syrian frontier, and says : " I followed King Oekheperenre, and there were captured by me in the land of the Shasu so very many living prisoners that I did not count them." In the oasis of Farâfra, some 200 miles west of Assiout, there is an inscription naming Thutmose II (*Zeitschrift*, 1876, 120), which suggests that he had obtained the submission of the Libyan tribesmen living in this oasis and in those others which form part of the great chain of oases in the western desert. But with these exceptions the reign seems to have been passed in profound peace, being marked only by the erection of various temples.

At Karnak he completed the work left unfinished at the death of his father, began another pylon-gateway, and perhaps also set up statues of himself. As has already been said, it is somewhat surprising that he did not inscribe his name on the second of the two obelisks which had been brought to Karnak by Thutmose I ; but various explanations may be advanced to account for this, and the reader should give his attention

to them, because, as I have already said, some Egyptologists have been led by this to think that Thutmose III, who eventually inscribed his name on this obelisk, must have reigned immediately after Thutmose I. Firstly, this obelisk may not have been set up for some years, for the other building works which were now being conducted in the temple may have caused the postponement of the building of the huge temporary ramps and other vast structures necessary in the erection of one of these monstrous monoliths (see Engelbach, *The Problem of the Obelisks*, Figs. 27-33). Secondly, Queen Hetshepsut's estrangement from her husband, Thutmose II, and her devotion to the memory of her father, may have caused her to take steps to prevent him appropriating this monument. Or again, an obelisk was possibly more definitely than we suppose a jubilee-memorial, and could only be inscribed by a king who was celebrating his jubilee. Thutmose II, so far as we know, did not hold a jubilee, which was the celebration of the completion of 30 years since the celebrator's appointment as heir to the throne ; for he reigned only 20 years, and had not been recognized as Crown Prince before his accession. Therefore he neither set up obelisks of his own, nor appropriated the second obelisk of his father, which remained uninscribed throughout his reign, and was eventually appropriated by Thutmose III at *his* jubilee. Something of this sort must have happened, for it is quite evident that the reign of Thutmose III did not follow immediately after that of Thutmose I (page 283).

At Medinet Habu the king seems to have added to the mortuary temple originally built by Amenhotpe I and afterwards taken over by Thutmose I. In the temple of Uthmose at Thebes, the fragments of a statue were found on which was recorded the 18th year of the reign of Thutmose II (*Annales*, I, 99). This is important as proving that Manetho's figure for the length of the reign, namely 20 years, is probably correct, although Egyptologists have never accepted it before. At Esneh traces of his work have been found (Pierret, *Recueil Insc. Louvre*, II, 3) ; and at Semneh and Kummeh in Nubia he seems to have added to the temples (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 47, 59). At Buhen, near Wady Hâlfâ, a temple was erected (MacIver and Woolley, *Buhen*, 11), and in the inscrip-

tions on its walls Queen Hetshepsut is given equal prominence with Thutmose II.

Then in the 15th year of the reign, 1499 B.C., the queen took a step which was almost tantamount to an assertion of her own sovereignty, and to a declaration that her husband was a negligible quantity. At this time she was surrounded by a group of nobles who, for their own ends, were supporting her in her attempt to ignore the king and to govern the country herself; and at their instigation, or certainly with their consent, she now decided to make preparations for the holding of her jubilee, as though she, and not her husband, were the real Pharaoh. She was now declaring, as has been said, that her father, Thutmose I, had assigned the throne to her at her birth in 1528 B.C., and therefore she seems to have felt that her jubilee year, celebrating the completion of a period of 30 years dating from the first New Year's Day after her birth, ought to begin with the 17th year of the present reign, 1497 B.C. As a memorial of this jubilee she proposed to set up two great obelisks in the temple of Karnak, and orders were given for work to be begun in the granite quarries at Aswân. In an inscription written some years later (p. 307) she tells us that the quarrying of these two huge monoliths began on the 1st day of the 2nd month of the 2nd season in "Year 15," this date corresponding to January 14th, 1499 B.C.; and the work continued until the 30th day of the 4th month of the 3rd season in "Year 16," that is to say August 12th, 1498 B.C., which was 5 days before the beginning of the jubilee year. It has always been thought that these year-dates refer to the years of Hetshepsut's reign with Thutmose III; but it seems to me to be quite obvious that they belong to the reign of Thutmose II, that is to say to the period before Hetshepsut was proclaimed as an actual Pharaoh and co-regent of Thutmose III, with a Pharaonic name of her own. The quarrying of these obelisks was conducted by a certain noble named Senmut, who was one of the chief partisans of the queen, and at Aswân he has left a rock-inscription recording the fact that he had come there "in order to direct the work on the two great obelisks" (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 25; Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, I, 82); but in this inscription he refers to Hetshepsut simply as the king's consort and queen,

which is positive proof that she was then wife of Thutmose II, and was not yet actual sovereign.

When the long and difficult task at the quarries was finished the two monoliths were floated down the Nile to Karnak, the river being then in flood ; but it does not seem that they were erected at once. The queen had decided to place them in the temple-hall constructed by her father, between the two pylons which he had made ; for she seems to have wished them to stand on ground actually dedicated by him, since they were to commemorate his recognition of her as his successor. But this necessitated its general reconstruction—a work of years ; and thus it seems that they were left, for the time being, lying on the ground. At all events, as will be related on page 307, they were not inscribed until some 13 years later ; and then she was so anxious for it to be known that she, not he, had caused them to be made, that she, not he, had been the real sovereign at the time, and that they had been intended to commemorate her jubilee, not his, that she caused a terrific oath to be recorded as a guarantee that this was so.

Meanwhile, however, somewhere about the 18th year of the reign, 1496 B.C., some sort of reconciliation between herself and her husband was effected. Possibly this celebration of her jubilee had been resented by the priests of Amon, who now gave the king sufficient support to enable him to check her ambitions. The estrangement and reconciliation between Thutmose II and Hetshepsut may be deduced in the following manner. The first child of their marriage of whom we have any record was a girl named Nofrure, " Beauties of the Sun-god," and her titles as heiress of the kingdom show that she was the eldest daughter. She may have been born, I suppose, any time after her mother was 15 or 16 years of age, that is to say as early as the 1st year of the reign ; and therefore the girl would probably have been somewhere about 11 or 12, or somewhat younger, at the time when Hetshepsut was preparing the obelisks to commemorate her jubilee. Now Senmut, who was in charge of this work, tells us in the Aswân inscription that he was then Chief Steward of Princess Nofrure ; and from his Berlin statue it is clear that the princess was then a young unmarried girl, though not an infant, for in the first

years of her life she had been in the care of Ahmose Pennekheb (page 362). Thus, there is no doubt that she was born early in the reign and that Thutmose II and Hetshepsut were then living together as husband and wife. But the next child of Hetshepsut of whom we have any record was another daughter, named Hetshepsut-Merytre, and it seems that she was born at the very end of the reign of Thutmose II, say about 1494 or 1493 B.C., for she lived to be the mother of King Amenhotpe II. Now Amenhotpe II was 50 years of age at most at his death in 1416 B.C. (page 400), and therefore was born about 1465 B.C. at the earliest. Thus his mother, Hetshepsut-Merytre, must have been born at the end of the reign of Thutmose II, which closed in 1493 B.C.; for even so she would have been 28 at the birth of Amenhotpe II, and had she been born shortly after her sister Nofrure, she would have been over 40 at the birth of her son, which is highly improbable. Therefore between the birth of Nofrure in the early years of the reign of Thutmose II and the birth of Hetshepsut-Merytre in the last years of that reign, there is this gap of probably 15 years or more during which Queen Hetshepsut had no children; and this fact, taken together with the evidence of an estrangement indicated by the monuments, suggests that Hetshepsut and Thutmose II were not living as man and wife during this period, but that in the end they were reconciled.

King Thutmose II, no doubt, had other children by different wives; but amongst these there was one child, a boy named Thutmose, who was conspicuous, and who afterwards became the great Pharaoh Thutmose III. He was the son of one of the king's secondary wives, a lady not of royal birth, named Iset or Ise (a name identical with that of the goddess known to the Greeks as Isis); and he was born somewhere about 1510 B.C., so it seems. It is probable that Thutmose II, in the last years of his life, was showing much affection towards this boy, and, for all we know, he may have been deeply attached to Iset. Thus one may venture the guess that Queen Hetshepsut, observing her husband's increasing interest in this Prince Thutmose whom another wife had borne to him, had effected a reconciliation with the object of attempting to produce a male heir to the throne of her own flesh and blood.

In the last months of the reign, therefore, we may picture

Thutmose II as a man in poor health, who had, however, regained something of his royal standing, and was reconciled to his wife Hetshepsut, although that lady regarded him as a usurper, since it was she, not he, who had been chosen for the throne by Thutmose I. Hetshepsut, who was about to become a mother, was eagerly hoping for a son and heir; but the king, whose affections were centred upon Prince Thutmose, then a youth of about 16 years of age, must have been hoping rather for a girl. This the child proved to be, and at once the king decided to make Prince Thutmose his heir; and in this he appears to have had the support of the priests of Amon, for the young prince was then serving as a novice in the temple of that god at Karnak.

In after-years, when Hetshepsut had died, and this prince had become King Thutmose III, he gave the following account of his appointment as heir to the throne; and though by this time the story had developed into the narration of a divine miracle, the actual events upon which it was based must have been true enough to satisfy the many people who could actually remember their occurrence. The inscription recording the story is written upon a wall of the temple of Karnak (Breasted, *Records*, II, § 131), but there are many breaks in it, which, as will be seen, I have loosely filled in so as to maintain the sense of the tale. It tells how, towards the close of the reign of Thutmose II, the priests of Karnak had arranged a *coup d'état*. At a certain religious festival, at which the king was officiating, the processional statue of the god Amon, which was being carried on the shoulders of the priests, was made to seem to be searching for the young Thutmose, and when it arrived in front of him, it was slightly tilted towards him, as though pointing him out. Thereupon, he was hailed as the chosen heir to the throne, and was placed beside the king, who pretended to have been taken quite by surprise. The weak Thutmose II, in fact, would hardly have dared to offend his masterful wife Hetshepsut by making such an appointment himself, much as he might wish it; but by this well-staged little piece of priestly humbug he was enabled to say that not he but the god Amon had chosen the young man, who, one may presume, had just come of age, for Egyptian youths came of age at 16.

After a now-lost reference to Thutmose II, the inscription reads as follows: ". . . I am his son, and he commanded that I should (sit) upon his throne even while I was one dwelling in his nest" (i.e. while but a child, and hence like a fledgling in the nest of the Hawk-king). "He begat me in the uprightness of his heart (and appointed me as his heir?). There is no lie in this: since my Majesty was a boy, while I was a youth (serving) in his temple, even before my ordination as a priest had taken place, (he selected?) my Majesty, (so that) I assumed a rôle similar to that of the youthful god Horus in the marshes of Khemmis, who was the support of his mother." (In the tradition to which he here refers, the young Horus was kept from the throne by Set, who had murdered his father; and while in exile in the marshes he supported his mother Iset, or Isis. Now, the mother of Thutmose was likewise named Iset, and perhaps he is hinting that he had been kept from his full rights as Pharaoh by Hetshepsut, who was possibly responsible for his father's death.) "Now (it happened one day that) I was standing in the northern hypostyle-hall (of the temple of Karnak, at the festival at which the statue of the god Amon is carried around in procession to behold) the splendours of his temple, making happy the heaven and earth by his beauty. (When the god) had accepted (or approved of?) the great wonders (of his temple) his rays (shone) in the eyes of the (assembled) people as (they did on the day of) the coming-forth of Harakhte (the divine founder on earth of the royal line of the Sun); and the people gave praise to him, and (did obeisance before) the altar of his temple. His Majesty (Thutmose II) placed incense upon the fire for him, and offered to him a great sacrifice consisting of oxen, calves, and mountain-goats. (Then, while these offerings were being presented, the priests bearing the processional statue of the god) made the circuit of the hypostyle-hall (proceeding) along both sides of it. Now, the minds of those who were in front (of the statue) did not understand what he (the statue of Amon) was doing, for (in reality he was leading them in search of me), and was looking for my Majesty in every place. (Suddenly), on recognizing me, he stopped (and inclined himself in my direction), and (thereupon I threw myself on) the pavement, and prostrated myself in

his presence. (Then he raised me up) and set me before his Majesty, and I was placed at the ' Standing-place of the King ' (i.e. the place in the Holy of Holies where only a king might stand). He (King Thutmose II) was astonished at me, (for I relate these things?) without untruth; but (the priests) announced to the people the secret (which had been) in the hearts of the gods, for they, (the priests, now) understood these his, (Amon's, intentions). There was none who had known them (until this moment), for there was none who could reveal them except (Amon). Then (as I stood in the sanctuary in a trance, the god unbolted) for me the gates of heaven, and opened the doors of the Horizon of the Sun-god. I flew up to heaven like the divine Hawk, and beheld his form in heaven. I did obeisance to his Majesty . . . and I saw the glorious forms of the God of the Horizon (moving) upon his mysterious ways through the heavens. The Sun-god himself raised me up, and I was crowned with the diadems which were upon his (own) head, and his cobra-diadem was fixed upon (my forehead), and he (endowed) me with all his glories. I was filled with the good counsels of the gods, and then, like the god Horus when he rejoined his body (after his supposed death, I found myself once more) at the temple of my father Amon-Re, and I was presented (there) with the divine insignia."

Hetshepsut must have been bitterly opposed to this elevation of Prince Thutmose to the position of Crown Prince, and it is to be supposed that she resolutely refused to allow him to augment his claim to the throne by marrying his half-sister Princess Nofrure, the heiress of the kingdom, which would have been the next step to be expected, especially as the girl must now have been about 19 years old. The party supporting the queen were now suggesting to her, it seems, that she should try to get the power into her own hands, and that, in the fortunate event of her husband's death, she should proclaim herself as a female Pharaoh. After all, Prince Thutmose was a raw youth, and he could probably be pushed with ease into a harmless obscurity; but the great obstacle to the queen's ambitions was her husband, Thutmose II.

At this juncture the king suddenly died, at the age of about 40, probably not more than a few weeks after having recognized Prince Thutmose as his heir. His body, as may be seen



at the present day, is covered with small tubercles or eruptions; and though Prof. Elliot-Smith finds himself unable to say definitely that this condition of the skin was not produced after death by the salts used in embalming, he thinks it more likely that the king died of some virulent disease. Personally I feel rather disposed to regard his death as being due to poison: it was so very opportune.

Manetho says that Thutmose II reigned 20 years and 7 months, which would mean to say that he died in the 8th month of his 21st year, 1493 B.C., corresponding to the period between March 13th and April 12th; but an inscription at Karnak (page 26) tells us that Thutmose III succeeded on the 4th day of the 1st month of the 3rd season, i.e. April 16th, and therefore Manetho's figure seems to be out by at least 4 days, and ought to be changed to 20 years and 8 months. The king's sepulchre in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings is pretty certainly that now numbered 42 (Weigall, *Guide*, 224), which is situated close to the tombs of Thutmose I and Thutmose III, at the northern end of the valley. The burial-hall, which is reached by a sloping passage, is oval in shape, like a cartouche, but though the walls have been plastered, the decorations were left unfinished, and, indeed, had only been begun. An uninscribed coffin of quartzite sandstone is still to be seen in this hall. Here the king appears to have been buried, but in after-years his body was removed by the priests to the hiding-place at Dêr el-Bahri, where it was found; and it is now in the Cairo Museum.

I may mention here that Queen Hetshepsut, meanwhile, had caused a tomb to be prepared for herself, having no intention of being buried with her husband. Knowing, however, that she had many enemies, and fearing both them and the robbers of some future date, she decided to make this tomb in a far more remote part of the desert than the Valley of the Kings. A distant ravine, deep amongst the hills to the west, was selected as the site; and here she caused her sepulchre to be hewn out of the rock high up in the precipitous face of a cliff, the mouth of the tomb being over 200 feet above the bed of the valley below, and some 137 feet down from the top. A flight of steps and a long tunnel led down to the burial chamber, and here a fine sarcophagus of quartzite sand-

stone was, with infinite labour, lowered from the dizzy cliff-top and hauled and dragged into position, It is the most astonishing tomb in Egypt ; and its clearance a few years ago was due to the skill and daring of Mr. Carter. He found the sarcophagus still there, but the work had evidently been stopped short and the tomb abandoned. This was due, as we shall presently see (page 311), to the fact that Hetshepsut ultimately proclaimed herself Pharaoh, took a throne-name, Maetkere, and made herself a tomb, in the Valley of the Kings, which was really part of her great new mortuary temple of Dêr el-Bahri. The inscriptions on the abandoned sarcophagus, I must point out, call her simply " Hetshepsut " and " Divine Consort," which shows that this more remote tomb was made for her before she assumed the position of a ruling sovereign.

## CHAPTER VII

### THE JOINT REIGNS OF HETSHEPSUT AND THUTMOSE III OF THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY

1493-1472 B.C.

DYN. XVIII, 5. AMENSE : MAETKERE AMENMENSE  
HETSHEPSUT

AND

DYN. XVIII, 6. MISAPHRE TUTHMOSE : MENKHEPERRE  
THUTMOSE (III)

IT is necessary clearly to understand the position at the death of Thutmose II. On the one hand, there was Prince Thutmose, who was not more than 16 or 17 years of age, and was the son of a lady not of royal birth, and yet who had been chosen by Thutmose II as his successor, and had the priests of Amon behind him. This young man seems to have been devoted to his father, Thutmose II, and now revered his memory, consequently disliking Hetshepsut who had attempted to ignore that king. On the other hand we have Queen Hetshepsut, now about 35 years of age, who was the daughter of Thutmose I, and was continually declaring that her father had meant her to succeed him on the throne, and that, instead of being now merely a dowager, she ought really to be reigning as a sort of female Pharaoh. She was backed by a group of nobles who had always supported her in her attempts to ignore Thutmose II, and now would like to acknowledge her as their sovereign. She was devoted to the memory of her father Thutmose I, but cared not a jot for that of Thutmose II, and was hostile to Prince Thutmose, whom Thutmose II had chosen as his successor. She had two daughters, of whom the younger was a baby, and the elder, Princess Nofrure, was about 19 years of age ; but she

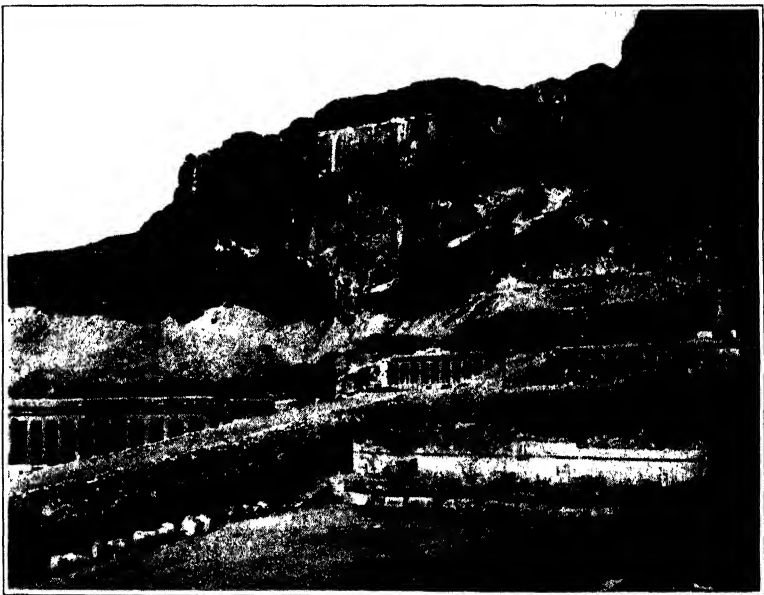
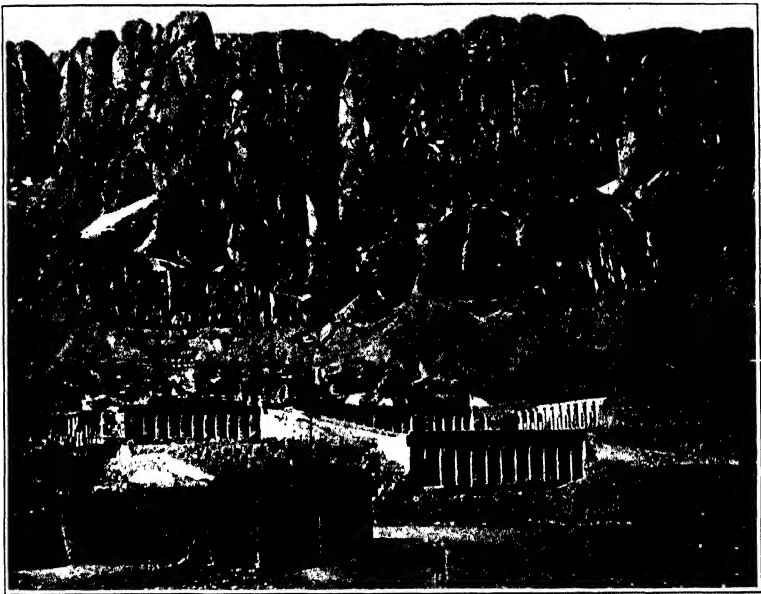
seems to have been determined that Prince Thutmose should not marry Nofrure, for the girl was heiress of the kingdom, and if she married the prince his claim to the throne would be made absolute through her, and Queen Hetshepsut would find herself shelved. Yet she and her supporters were not strong enough to prevent the coronation of Prince Thutmose as Pharaoh.

The architect Ineni, whose biographical inscription has already been quoted (pp. 262, 277-283), gives us an indication of the situation which now developed. Having told us how Thutmose II came to the throne on the death of Thutmose I, as quoted on page 283, he proceeds as follows: "I was one who pleased the heart of the king (Thutmose II) in every situation, and greater was that which he did for me than (that which he did for) those who preceded (me). I attained the old age of the respected, and I possessed the favour of his Majesty every day. I was supplied from the table of the king with bread and beer, meat, lard, vegetables, various fruits, honey, cakes, wine, and oil. My necessities were apportioned (to me) for (my) health and life, out of his love for me, as his Majesty himself said. (Then) he went forth to heaven, and was merged into the gods, and his son (Thutmose III) stood in his place as King of the Two Lands. He (Thutmose III) became ruler upon the throne of that one who had begotten him; (but) his sister (i.e. the sister of Thutmose II), the divine Consort Hetshepsut, carried on the government of the Two Lands because of her abilities. Egypt was made to work in subjection to her who was the excellent offspring of the god and who came forth from him . . . (as) mistress of (the power to) command, whose abilities are (so) high, and who satisfies the Two Lands when she speaks. Her Majesty favoured me and loved me, recognizing my worth at the court: she presented me with gifts, she raised me, she filled my house with silver and gold, and with all the beautiful stuffs of the royal house. I will not describe (how) I increased beyond everything, but I will tell you (this), you people!—Hear you, and do the good that I did: do likewise! I continued powerful and at peace, nor was there misfortune for me. My years were (passed) in happiness of heart, (for) I showed no treachery. . . . My heart was not treasonable towards the great ones

at the Palace." From this record, we see that although Prince Thutmose ascended the throne (as Thutmose III), the real power remained in the hands of Queen Hetshepsut, who, however, was not yet regarded as a sovereign with her own Pharaonic titles and names, but was still called simply Divine Consort, that is to say the wife and widow of the late king.

At his accession the new Pharaoh, Thutmose, took the following names, which, in after-years, he said the god Amon-Re had himself chosen for him (Breasted, *Records*, II, § 143). As Hawk-king he was called Kenakht-Khemwas, "Mighty Bull, Ascending (or crowned) in Thebes"; but the last word *Was*, "Thebes," sometimes alternates with *maet*, "Truth." Other Hawk-names were Kenakht-Hemmaet, "Mighty Bull, Rejoicing in Truth"; Kenakht-Meryre, "Mighty Bull, Beloved of the Sun-god"; and Hethke-Meryre, "The White Crown, Exalted and Beloved of the Sun-god." As Lord of the Vulture and Cobra, he was generally called Wahinsi-Mirempet, "Enduring in Kingship like the Sun-god in Heaven"; but under this title there are also the names Sekhemaet-Merytoui, "Making the Truth to Shine, Beloved of the Two Lands," and Oeshefit-Emtounebu, "Great of Strength in All Countries." As Hawk of Nubi he has the names Sekhempehti-Thoserkheui, "Mighty in Strength, Splendid in Ascensions"; and Oekhepesh-Hupethtiupsith, "Great of Valour, Smiting the Nine-Bows." As Reed- and Hornet-king his name was Menkheperre, "Establishing the Being or Creation of the Sun-god," a name which in cuneiform is transcribed Mankhebiriy, and which is shortened by Manetho to Mephre(s) or Misaphri(s), the *Me* or *Mi* being the remnant of *Men*, and the *saphr* corresponding to *Kheper*. As Son of the Sun-god he was called by his personal name Thutmose, to which are added such phrases as Neferkheperu, "The Good-one of Creations," Neferkheui, "The Good-one of Ascensions," Hiqmaet, "Prince of Truth," Hiqwas, "Prince of Thebes," Hiqon, "Prince of On," etc.

For the first eight years after his coronation the young Pharaoh managed to keep his head above the waves of Hetshepsut's ambitions, and in the inscriptions of this period, although it is apparent that the government was largely in her hands, no mention is made of her as an actual ruling sovereign. For example, at Semneh in Nubia there is an inscription



TWO VIEWS OF THE TEMPLE OF DÉR EL-BAHRI, BUILT BY QUEEN HETSHEPSUT OF THE  
EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY  
*See page 310.*



(Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 47) dated "Year 2, 7th day of the 2nd month of the 3rd season," i.e. May 20th, 1492 B.C., just over 13 months after the new king's accession; and in this his full titles and names are recorded, and it is stated that he gave orders for the erection of a temple and for the renewal of the offerings to the gods instituted by Sesusri III of the Twelfth Dynasty, but Queen Hetshepsut is not named or referred to at all. Thutmose III tells us that he found here at Semneh a temple made of brick, but he erected in its place a building of white stone, dedicated to Dedun, the god of Nubia, and to the spirit of Sesusri III, the founder of the original temple. He states that the festival known as the "Defeat of the Tribesmen," instituted by that Pharaoh, is to be perpetuated, the date of its celebration being the 21st day of the 4th month of the 2nd season. As I have pointed out on page 29, that calendar-date corresponded to June 29th in 1983 B.C., the year in which the festival was instituted, and this was then the day of the feast of the Rising of Sirius; but now, nearly 500 years later, it corresponded to April 3rd. Thutmose III then speaks of another festival, to be celebrated in "the 1st (month?) of the 3rd season," this probably being the feast of the anniversary of the king's accession; and he also mentions a third festival, that known as "The Binding of the Barbarians," which was instituted by Sesusri III in honour of his wife Merseger (page 99), but the calendar-date of this is not given.

There is a papyrus at Turin (No. 1) in which a scribe named Usramon records the fact that he had served the crown for 30 years; and he dates this document in "Year 5" of Thutmose III, but does not mention Queen Hetshepsut, which shows that still, five years after the king's accession, the queen was not officially a sovereign. But the next dated inscription which has come down to us gives us a clue to the year in which the queen managed completely to gain the upper hand. It is written on the base of a now lost statue of a High Priest of Osiris, named Nebwawi (*Recueil*, xix, 97; *Zeitschrift*, xxxvi, 71), and reads as follows:—" (This statue) was presented as a favour of King Menkheperre (Thutmose III), living for ever, to the High Priest of Osiris, Nebwawi, who says: 'I was a servant useful to his lord, zealously tread-



ing the path of him who favoured him. I filled the first office in the temple of my father Osiris (at Abydos), and was made chief in the . . . of the temple. A royal command came to me that every day (I should) . . . This (covered) the period up to the 3rd year (of the reign). My lord, the King Menkheperre thanked me for it (i.e. for my services). (Then) I was appointed to be High Priest of my father Osiris, and every department of this temple was placed under the authority of the king's servant (i.e. Nebwawi). On another occasion I was commanded to go to bring forth in procession (*lit.* to cause to appear) (the statue of) his father Harendotes, in the temple of the god Min, Lord of Ekhmin (the modern Akhmîm, and Greek Panopolis, some 20 miles north of Abydos), at all his feasts in Ekhmin, I being there as chief of the priests and of all the persons working in the entire temple. This was (in) the period up to the 6th year. . . . The Majesty of my lord (again) thanked me. (Then) I was appointed to be chief in the (temple) of his father (i.e. ancestor) King Nebpehtire (Ahmose, page 241), and his treasures were upon my seals (i.e. under my control). I came forth from this office (i.e. administered it) successfully and prosperously (during the period) up to the 9th year. (Then) I conducted the work on the sacred barque (of Osiris), and (during that time) I suppressed him that rebelled against *her* Majesty." The sudden use of the feminine, "her," may be due to the modern copyist's error, perhaps (Breasted, *Records*, II, § 183, Note b), and the reference to the suppression of rebels may relate to the religious drama performed at Abydos (page 157). But it is more probable that the feminine pronoun is correct, and that Queen Hetshepsut is referred to, in which case it certainly looks as though this was the period at which the queen managed to assert herself as sovereign and to suppress King Thutmose III and his partisans.

The 9th year of the reign began on New Year's Day, August, 1485 B.C.; and from soon after that date, it would seem then, until her death in 1472 B.C., Queen Hetshepsut was absolute ruler of the country, and Thutmose III was kept in the background. I suppose there was some serious quarrel between the two, but there is no record of it; and at last a compromise was reached by the establishment of a co-regency. In the

Twelfth Dynasty and at other periods of Egypt's history, two Pharaohs had sat together upon the throne, and there were precedents also for the recognition of a queen as head of the state (Vol. I, pp. 115, 254); and therefore it seems to have been argued that there was no reason why civil war should not be avoided and both parties be satisfied. The compromise, however, as has been said, resulted in the practical extinction of the unfortunate Thutmose III for 13 years and more; and when it is remembered that this covered the period between about the 25th or 26th and the 38th or 39th years of his life, and that when at last he came back into his own he proved himself to be Egypt's greatest Pharaoh, we shall be justified in thinking of him as the embittered and tragic figure in the background during those years of the queen's supremacy which have now to be recorded.

Hatshepsut, who was at this time 45 years of age, was now given all the names and titles of a Pharaoh. As Hawk-sovereign she was called Usrtkeu, "Mighty in her Spirits." As Lady of the Vulture and the Cobra she had two names, Utht-ronpitu, "Prosperous of Years," and Thetounebu, "Binding All Lands." As Hawk of Nubi she also had two names, Netertkheu, "Divine of Ascensions," and Senkhibu, "Reviving the Hearts." As Reed- and Hornet-sovereign she took the name Maetkere, "The Truth of the Spirit of the Sun-god; and as Daughter of the Sun-god she used her personal name Hatshepsut, with the addition of Amenmense, a name of which the meaning is not certain, though the word *mense* may mean the divine elixir or life-fluid. It is this last name which is evidently the origin of the Greek Amessi(s) or Amense(s), by which she is called in Manetho's lists. This word *mense* has always been read *Khnem* by Egyptologists, but the latter is another word, always ending with the owl-sign *m*, which never occurs in the queen's name. With regard to the name Hatshepsut, which means "Chief of the Nobles," I should mention that the first syllable reads *Hat* or *Het*, and the second is read by some scholars as *shopsitu* or *shopsouit*, and used to be read *asu*, which produced the now abandoned reading Hatasu. The student should bear in mind that, if I am right in my interpretation of the events of these times, Queen Hatshepsut was not called Maetkere, and was not regarded as a Pharaoh

until the 9th year of Thutmose III, but was called, until that year, simply the Divine Consort, Hetshepsut. In taking this view of the matter, however, I find myself quite alone.

In order to strengthen her claim to the throne Hetshepsut now gave out the story that she was actually the daughter of the god Amon, and later she caused this tale to be inscribed and illustrated by sculptures on the walls of her mortuary temple, now known as Dêr el-Bahri, of which I shall presently speak. The first of these scenes shows a council of the gods at which Amon presided, and at which the creation of Hetshepsut was decided upon. At this meeting the god Thoth reminded Amon of the existence of the beautiful Ahmose, wife of the prince, afterwards King Thutmose I, and suggested to him that while the prince was away Amon should impersonate him, and so obtain access to the queen's room. Then, says the story, Amon assumed the appearance of Thutmose I, and "he found the queen as she slept in the beauty of her palace; and she awakened at the fragrance of the god, which she smelt though (she thought herself to be) in the presence of his Majesty. Thereat he went at once to her, and lay with her: he imposed his desire upon her, causing her to see him in the form of a god. Then when he stood before her she was glad at the revelation of his beauty, and the love of him passed through her limbs which were flooded by his fragrance. Then said Queen Ahmose to the majesty of this august god Amon, Lord of Thebes: 'How great is your glory! It is splendid to see your face! You have united my Majesty with your graces, and your breath (or seed?) is in all my limbs.' After this the majesty of this god did all that he desired with her; and he said to her: 'Amenmense Hetshepsut shall be the name of this my daughter whom I have implanted in your body, for such is the word (i.e. suggestion) which has come from your (own) mouth. She shall exercise the high kingship in this whole land. My soul shall be hers, my bounty shall be hers, my crown also, so that she may rule the Two Lands.' " Then Amon called in the aid of Khnum, the divine potter, to shape the babe in all beauty; and when the queen's hour drew near the gods assembled, and the divine midwives attended the birth. When the child was born the goddess Hathor presented her to Amon, who blessed her, and

showed her to all the gods, saying, "Behold you my daughter Hetshepsut: be loving towards her." Then "her Majesty grew apace, and to look upon her was more beautiful than anything. . . . She became a beautiful maiden, blooming (like) the goddess Utho in her time."

Now, it may be guessed that Hetshepsut would hardly have dared to circulate this story while her mother, Queen Ahmose Hent-Temehu, was still alive, for the old lady might have resented it, and might have warmly denied her infidelity to her husband Thutmose I, even though Amon himself was said to have been her lover on that imaginary occasion. It may be stated with confidence, therefore, that the aged queen was already dead when the story was invented. But her mummy has been found, and is now in the Cairo Museum, numbered 61061; and Prof. Elliot Smith, who examined it (*Cat. Cairo Mus. Royal Mummies*, p. 19), is of opinion that she was an old woman, getting on for 70 years of age. She was born, however, about 1553 B.C., towards the end of the reign of King Ahmose (page 246), and was thus 25 years of age at the birth of Hetshepsut in 1528 B.C., and would have been about 67 or 68 in 1486 B.C., which was the 8th year of the reign of Thutmose III. This, then, was probably the date of her death, that is to say just before the momentous "Year 9" in which Hetshepsut was proclaimed as sovereign, and Thutmose III, her co-regent, was pushed into the background. This is confirmed by a small vase (Mariette, *Monuments divers*, 48) in the Cairo Museum, which seems to have been a funeral-gift presented by her daughter, for the inscription upon it reads: "The Divine Consort and Great King's Wife, Hetshepsut, made this for her mother, the Great King's Wife, Ahmose, deceased." We may argue from this, firstly, that Queen Ahmose died while her daughter Hetshepsut was still regarded simply as the widow of Thutmose II, and had not yet assumed the position of a sovereign ruler, that is to say before the 9th year; and, secondly and conversely, that Hetshepsut did not become a sovereign queen before the 9th year, since she was only "Consort" when her mother died, and her mother could hardly have died before 1486 B.C., as may be judged from her mummy and the probable date of her birth and age when Hetshepsut was born.

The bandages of this mummy, No. 61061, are inscribed with the words " King's Daughter, King's Sister, and King's Wife, Hent-Temehu," which settles her identity, for Queen Ahmose Hent-Temehu was daughter of King Ahmose and sister and wife of King Thutmose I (page 273). She was a handsome old woman of about 5 feet in height, with a broad, oval face, and a low forehead. At the time of her death her hair, which had become somewhat scanty, was dyed a brilliant red, probably with henna, and was interplaited with false strands of black, thus providing a surprising, but rather ornamental, combination of the two colours. I may mention that she must have suffered from toothache towards the end of her life, for one of her teeth is much decayed, and at the root of another there are traces of an abscess. It will be remembered that her name Hent-Temehu means " Mistress of the Libyans " (page 246), and that she was the daughter of the lady Inhapi who may have been a Libyan princess. Now, it was customary, it seems (page 246), for Libyan women to dress like men ; and the curious fact, which will presently be recorded, that Queen Hetshepsut seems to have worn male dress, may possibly be accounted for in this manner. It is significant, too, that Hetshepsut is described as being like the goddess Utho, for that deity was the goddess of Buto, originally a Libyan centre, whose cobra-diadem was adopted by the Pharaohs from the Libyans (Vol. I, pp. 85, 117) ; and it should be noticed also that in the continuation of the story of her divine birth there is the statement that she went to Lower Egypt as a child, and was apparently brought up there, possibly on the estates in the Western Delta inherited by her mother from Inhapi. The evidence in this connection is, of course, too slight to be relied on, but one cannot help having the impression that Hetshepsut's subsequent assumption of male characteristics was due in part to her upbringing under Libyan influence.

Having circulated the story of her divine origin, she now made it known that her earthly father, King Thutmose I, had all along intended her for the throne ; and, a few years later, she caused a statement to this effect to be inscribed and illustrated on the walls of her temple at Dêr el-Bahri (Naville, *Deir el Bahari*, III, 60-63). Thutmose I is supposed to have

sent for her when she was but a child, and to have said to her: "Come, glorious-one, I have brought (you) before me that you may . . . assume your royal dignity. . . . You shall have power in the Two Lands, you shall arrest the rebellious, you shall appear in the Palace, your forehead shall be adorned with the double diadem (of Upper and Lower Egypt) which may (only) rest upon the head of the heiress of the Hawk whom I have begotten—(my) daughter of the White Crown (of Upper Egypt), beloved of Buto (goddess of Lower Egypt). These diadems are (now) given to you by him who presides over the thrones of the gods. My Majesty has caused that there shall be summoned to him the captains of the king, the nobles, the peers, the officers of the Court, and the chiefs of the people, that they may pay their homage (to you) and may set the majesty of the daughter of this Hawk-king before him in his palace." Then, Hetshepsut tells us, "there was a sitting of the king himself in the audience hall . . . while these people prostrated themselves in the court; and his Majesty addressed them (as follows): 'This is my daughter Amenmense-Hetshepsut. I have appointed her . . . ; she shall be my successor upon my throne; she it is, assuredly, who shall sit upon my glorious throne; she shall order (all) matters for the people in every department of the Palace; she it is who shall lead you; she shall issue her command, and you shall be united in (carrying out) her behest. He who shall do homage to her shall live, he who shall speak evil in defiance of her Majesty shall die. Whosoever utters with authority the name of her Majesty shall enter immediately into the royal residence, even as is (now) done by (authority of) the name of this Hawk-king (i.e. myself). . . .' (Then) the people heard this command for the advancement of the dignity of his daughter, . . . and they kissed the earth at his feet when the royal word fell amongst them, and they thanked all the gods for King Oekheperkere (Thutmose I), living for ever. They went forth, their mouths rejoicing, and published his proclamation (which he had made) to them. All the people of all the departments of the Court heard it, and came, their mouths rejoicing, and proclaimed it far and wide. Department told it to department in his (the king's) name; soldier cried it to soldier. They jumped and danced

for the double joy of their hearts. They proclaimed and proclaimed (again) the name of her Majesty as (their future) sovereign, even while her Majesty was a child. . . . All the people were united upon the selection of this his daughter for their sovereign, and while her Majesty was a child, the heart of his Majesty inclined towards her exceedingly."

Now, all this may have been true, but since it was a tale of events which were supposed to have occurred some 35 years ago, there had been ample time for exaggeration to creep into the story without detection, and we need not suppose that Thutmose I did more than express the wish that he should be succeeded by his daughter. Certainly it was in no way a proclamation of his daughter's co-regency with him, as some have thought; for he distinctly says that she shall be his *successor*, using a word which can only have that meaning. Hetshepsut goes on to tell us that later on her father "recognized the auspiciousness of her accession on New Year's Day" (Breasted, *Records*, II, §§ 239, 240), and she represents herself as being acknowledged by the gods on that day. Now, it will be remembered (page 281) that Thutmose I probably died on New Year's Day, and it seems that Hetshepsut came to regard this as an act of the gods: it was as though he had resigned his crown to her at the beginning of the new year on purpose, and the implication was that Thutmose II, who actually came then to the throne, had usurped her rights, and hence that his son Thutmose III, whom she now tolerated merely as a sort of junior partner in the kingship, was not legitimately Pharaoh at all, and was only permitted to share her throne by her condescension.

At the temple of Karnak she repeated this declaration in another form, in an inscription written upon a pylon (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 18; Breasted, *Records*, II, § 243). Here Thutmose I is supposed to address himself to Amon, thus:—"I come to you, Lord of the gods, I kiss the ground before you, in return for this, that you have placed the Black Land (i.e. the fields) and the Red Land (i.e. the desert) under the dominion of my daughter . . . just as you had (previously) placed it under my Majesty. . . . The heart of my Majesty is glad because of her. . . . Make her prosperous as sovereign."

It seems that the Queen, in her desire to be regarded as a Pharaoh, now assumed male attire ; but whether she actually did so or not, she certainly caused herself to be represented thus on her monuments, and there is no difference to be observed between the portraits of herself and those of male sovereigns. Moreover, she is now spoken of as " King," not as " Queen," and there is an extraordinary mixture of genders in the inscriptions—" she " and " he," and " her " and " his " sometimes occurring in the same sentence. It is hard to say whether or not this is to be taken as meaning that she was a masculine type of woman ; but the probability, I think, is that she did actually attempt to play the part of a man, and did appear in male dress on state occasions, perhaps with the addition of some light drapery such as she is seen to wear on a stela in Sinai (page 332).

It will be remembered that in the 16th year of Thutmose II two huge obelisks had been brought to Karnak in celebration of Hetshepsut's jubilee (page 288), a festival which marked the crisis of her first attempt to make herself sovereign ruler of the land. These obelisks had not been engraved with any inscription at the time, for there seems to have been much opposition to her claim to jubilee rights ; but now, 13 years later, she was able to finish the work. Down the four sides of these two monoliths she caused her new names and titles to be written, and she there stated that the obelisks had been made by her in celebration of her first jubilee, and for the purpose, also, of honouring her father, Thutmose I, and the god Amon (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 22-24). Then on the base of one of the obelisks she caused an interesting inscription to be engraved which begins with an encomium of herself, and then states that these two monuments were made of the best granite of the South, and that their caps were of electrum which could be seen on both sides of the Nile as they gleamed in the rays of the rising sun. She tells us how she had been unable to sleep at night for thinking of this temple of Amon, for she realized that Karnak was the home of the god, the place of his heart's desire, basking in his beauty ; and how, sitting in her palace one day, she had remembered that it was Amon who had created her, and she had made these obelisks for him. " O, you people," she then goes on, " who shall see



(these) my monuments in after-years, you who shall talk of that which I have done, beware lest you say ' I do not know, I do not know why this was done ' . . . as though it were any (ordinary) thing that had happened ; for I swear, as the Sun-god loves me, as my father Amon favours me, as my nostrils are filled with satisfying life, as I wear the White Crown (of Upper Egypt), as I appear in the Red Crown (of Lower Egypt), as the gods Horus and Set have united in me their two divisions (of Egypt), as I rule this land like (Horus), the son of Isis, as I am become mighty like (Osiris) son of Heaven, as the Sun-god sets in the boat of the evening, as he rises in the boat of the morning, as he joins (Isis and Nephthys), his two mothers in the divine barque, as Heaven abides, as that which the Sun-god has made endures, as I am unto eternity like the imperishable stars, as I shall go down into the hills of the west like Atum (the setting sun), (even so, I swear that) these two great obelisks which my Majesty has wrought with electrum, are for my father Amon, in order that my name may endure, abiding in this temple for ever and ever ; (I swear that) they are (each made) of a single block of durable granite without seam or join, and that it was my Majesty who ordered the work on them (which lasted) from the Year 15, 1st day of the 2nd month of the 2nd season, until the Year 16, last day of the 4th month of the 3rd season, and that the work in the quarry (itself) occupied 7 months."

This great oath which the Queen records would surely not have been necessary if the matter thus to be attested were simply that the obelisks were monoliths and had been quarried in 7 months ; for it has been calculated (Engelbach, *Problem of the Obelisks*, 48) that the work of extracting them from the quarry could easily have been accomplished in that time. It seems more probable that the oath was required to prove, firstly, that the obelisks had not been usurped but had been made at Hetshepsut's own command, and, secondly, that in the stated years she had been already in a position to give such an order, and to hold the jubilee which they commemorated, thus proving that she had always been regarded as the true successor of Thutmose I (page 304). I think I have shown beyond dispute (page 288) that the obelisks were erected when the queen was the wife of Thutmose II, but that they were

not inscribed until after she had become a sovereign ruler, in about the 9th year of the nominal reign of Thutmose III (page 300) ; and thus, since some 13 years had elapsed between the erecting and the inscribing of the obelisks, it was necessary to swear to the fact that they had been set up in the first place by the queen herself and not by Thutmose II. The dates given in the inscription have presented a very puzzling question, because the last sentence has always been read "... from the Year 15, 1st day of the 2nd month of the 2nd season, until the Year 16, last day of the 4th month of the 3rd season, making (a total of) 7 months of work in the quarry." Now the period from the beginning of the 2nd month of the 2nd season in any one calendar year until the end of the 4th month of the 3rd season is exactly 7 months ; and hence it has always been thought that only one calendar year was referred to, but that the 7 months period included parts of two regnal years, namely the last months of Year 15 and the first months of Year 16, thus showing that the queen dated her regnal years from some point between the two stated calendar seasons, or, in other words, that the change from the date "Year 15" to the date "Year 16" occurred between the 2nd month of the 2nd season and the 4th month of the 3rd season. But, as I have already pointed out (Vol. I, pp. 24 and 25, and the present volume, p. 21), there is abundant proof that the years of the reigns of the Pharaohs always corresponded with the calendar years, the new year of the reign always beginning on the New Year's Day of the calendar ; and in the case of the reign of Hetshepsut this was doubly so, because her father happened to die on New Year's Day, and she reckoned her accession as having taken place on that day (page 306). Therefore, from the 1st day of the 2nd month of the 2nd season in Year 15 to the last day of the 4th month of the 3rd season in Year 16 must be a period of 19 months, not 7 months ; and hence the "7 months work in the quarry" is not the total of the whole period of the work on the obelisks, but the total of that part of the work which took place at the actual quarry, thus leaving 12 months for the dragging of the monoliths from the quarry down to the river, the shipping of them on the great barges or rafts, their transport down the Nile to Karnak, the dragging of them to the required position in the temple,

the difficult task of their erection, and the final work of dressing the stone and putting on their caps of electrum.

The Queen continues her statement as follows :—" Hear (O people) ! I provided for these obelisks the finest electrum, and I measured it by the *heket* (a measure of nearly 5 litres) as though it were sacks (of grain). My Majesty determined the amount (at a quantity) more than the entire Two Lands had (ever) seen (before). Let those who are ignorant (of the fact) know it (now) as do those who have the knowledge (of it). Let not him who shall hear this say it is a lie that I have spoken, but let him (rather) say, ' How like her it is ! She is truthful in the sight of her father, Amon.' . . . He (it was who) caused that I should reign over the Black Land and the Red Land as a reward for it,"—and in this sentence we have a proof that Hetshepsut came to the throne *after* the obelisks were erected, and as a favour given by Amon in return for what she had done for him. " I have no enemy (now) in any land ; all countries are subject to me. He has set my frontiers at the extremities of heaven, and the (very) circuit of the sun has laboured for me. This he has given to (me, who am) one with him, for he knew that I would offer it (back) to him. Truly, I am his daughter who glorifies him. . . . He has created my kingdom, and the Black Land and the Red Land are united under my feet. My southern frontier is as far off as the lands of Pount ; my eastern frontier as far as the marshes of Asia, and the Asiatics are in my holding. My western frontier is as far away as the Mountains of Manu ; and my northern frontier as far as . . ., and my renown is amongst all the Bedouin."

In this same 9th year, Queen Hetshepsut, being now a sovereign ruler, began to build for herself the great mortuary temple, now known as Dêr el-Bahri, where her spirit might be ministered to after her death. It has generally been thought that this building was begun many years earlier ; but she would not have been entitled to such a temple while she was merely Consort and widowed Queen of Thutmose II, and, as I have attempted to show on page 300, she does not appear to have become sovereign in her own right until the 9th year of the reign of Thutmose III. We must assume, therefore, that it was only then that she was able to begin to build ; and

as the calendar year began in those days in August, and as she may have been proclaimed at the beginning of the year, we may suppose that the erection of this temple was begun in the autumn. Here at Dêr el-Bahri there is a deep bay in the hills of the western desert : a great arena or amphitheatre, one might call it, backed by the towering cliffs, and spanned by the deep blue canopy of the sky. Eastwards it lies open ; and, standing in the shadow of the precipices, one may look in that direction across the desert plain down to the fields and the Nile beyond, with the site of the city of Thebes on the far side of the river. Northwards, the less precipitous hills were honeycombed with the rock-cut tombs of the nobles of the Eleventh Dynasty, already 700 years old. Southwards, an isolated hill, now known as Shêkh abd' el-Gûrneh, formed the side of the arena ; and here were many rock-tombs of the Twelfth Dynasty. Westwards, there was this backing of the dizzy cliffs, forming a mighty wall behind which was the hidden valley wherein were the tombs of Thutmose I and Thutmose II, and where Thutmose III had perhaps already begun to excavate a sepulchre for himself. At the south-west corner of this arena stood the pyramid-temple of Nebhapatre Mentuhotpe of the Eleventh Dynasty (Vol. I, p. 302), gleaming white against the soft yellow of the cliffs ; and in front of this building was the great court with its groves of sycamore trees, planted in holes cut in the desert rock, filled with earth. The avenue leading up to this temple extended eastwards for nearly a mile, down to the fields. This pyramid-temple and its plantations, however, occupied only the southern side of the arena ; and the northern side, with a wide stretch of the cliffs at the back, was still untouched : and here Hetshepsut decided to place her temple, building it in terraces of gleaming white limestone, mounting up the slope at the foot of the cliffs, and leading at last by inclined causeways, flanked by covered colonnades, to the sanctuary which was to be cut right into the precipice itself. In front of this terraced temple there was to be a wide avenue of approach, passing across the desert floor of this side of the amphitheatre, between great plantations of trees. On the east, or near, side of the hidden valley, behind the wall of the cliffs, the queen's tomb was to be excavated in the hillside, and its long tunnel would pass down

under the cliffs to the burial vault, which should be situated deep down in the rock, right under the temple. The earlier tomb which she had prepared further back into the desert was now abandoned (page 295).

The work was placed in the hands of the great noble Senmut (page 326), one of the most important of the group of men who supported Hetshepsut and had raised her to her dominating position. Fourteen years previously he had conducted the work of quarrying the two great obelisks in the Aswân quarries, and at that time he had been Steward of the household of Princess Nofrure. Now he had risen to be Steward of the vast estates of the Amon priesthood and of those of the queen; and soon, as we shall see, his ambitions led him to perilous heights from which, in the end, he fell headlong. Another great noble who must have been much concerned with the building of this temple was Hapusonb, the Prime Minister, whose appointment as High Priest of Amon had perhaps constituted the main step in the queen's rise to sovereign power. He tells us, at any rate, that it was he who was in charge of the excavation of Hetshepsut's tomb.

While the building of the temple was being begun, probably in the autumn of the 9th year, 1485 B.C., the queen despatched an expedition to the far-off land of Pount—perhaps the Somali coast—in order to bring back to Egypt a number of the incense-trees for which that country was famous. The High Priest Hapusonb was probably the originator of the project, for it was said to have been undertaken at the instance of an oracle of Amon, and such oracles were no doubt engineered by the High Priest of the god. An account of the expedition was later inscribed and illustrated on the walls of the new temple (Naville, *Deir el-Bahari*, III, pls. 69–86; Breasted, *Records*, II, § 246 ff.), and there the queen relates the episode of the oracle as follows: “The Majesty of the Court was making supplication at the steps (of the altar) of the Lord of the Gods (Amon-Re), and a command was heard from the great throne, an oracle of the god himself, (saying) ‘The ways to the Land of Pount shall be explored; the highways to the incense-(growing) uplands shall be penetrated. I will lead the expedition by water and by land, that it may bring the wonderful

things from (that) divine land for this divinity (Hetshepsut), and for (me,) the creator of her beauty.' "

There had been (see Vol. I) several previous expeditions to this distant land, which was believed by the Egyptians to be the original home of some of their ancestors, and which was for this reason often spoken of as the "divine land" or "God's Country"; but, so far as we know, the last expedition had been despatched in the Twelfth Dynasty, and thus some four or five centuries had elapsed since the inhabitants of that country had seen an Egyptian. The main product of Pount was the gum or resin of the tree called *Boswellia Thurifera* or *Boswellia Carteri*, which was used by the Egyptians as incense, and sometimes also as a drug (*Ebers Papyrus*); and the main object of the present expedition was to bring back to Egypt some of the actual trees, so that they might be planted in front of the queen's new temple, for, she said, "Amon has commanded me to establish for him a Land of Pount on his estate, and to plant the trees of God's Country beside his temple and in its garden."

The expedition was placed under the command of the Chief Treasurer, a man called Nehesi, a name, by the way, which means "the Negro." It consisted of 5 large sailing ships, which, when necessary, could be propelled by oars; and since the detailed representations sculptured on the walls of the temple show apparently the same ships both on the Nile and on the sea, and there is nothing to suggest any transshipment, one must suppose that the journey was made down the Nile and thence by way of the canal through the Wady Tumilât which ran into the Bitter Lakes and so to the Red Sea. In ancient times it had been customary for expeditions to start from Qebt (Koptos) on the Nile and march across the desert by way of the Wady Hammamât, famous for its quarries, to Duat (Kosseir), on the Red Sea coast, and there to build the ships which were to convey them to Pount; but this canal, the forerunner of the modern Suez Canal, certainly existed a few hundred years later, and therefore one may suppose that it was already in use at this time.

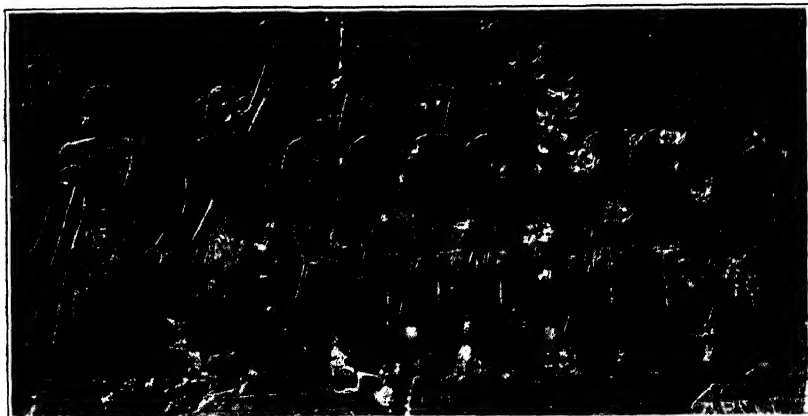
Having reached the sea at Suez, a propitiatory sacrifice was made to the goddess Hathor, who was described as the patron Lady of Pount, that she might send a fair wind; and

with that the little fleet set sail for the south, keeping close to the barren coast on their right or starboard side. It is to be supposed that they touched at Wady Gasûs, some 300 miles down the coast, where they could replenish their water-supplies from the wells; and they probably put in also at Kosseir where again there were wells, and where they could have been met by messengers sent across the 100 miles of desert which separated that Red Sea port from Koptos on the Nile. At Ras Benas, the Greek Berenice, on a line with Aswân, and at or near Suâkin, on a line with the Third Cataract, some 900 miles from Suez, water may have been able to be procured but from that point onwards the voyage must have been perilous, for the commander probably had to find his way by means of old records left by captains who had made the journey hundreds of years before, and the replenishing of the water-supply must have been a serious problem, involving landings on unknown and hostile coasts.

At last the land of Pount was reached, and though the situation of the port which was the expedition's destination is not now known, the scenes represented on the walls of the queen's temple show that the trees here came down to the water's edge, which suggests that it was some little distance up the mouth of a river—possibly the Elephant River which is between Ras el-Fil and Cape Guardafui. The huts of the natives, standing in the shade of the trees, were of the dome or beehive type, each built high up on a platform or scaffold resting on stakes driven into the ground, the low arched doorway being reached by a ladder. The inhabitants are represented as belonging to at least three different races, two of which are negroid, and the third, the men whom the Egyptian regarded as their kin, are depicted as being of the same complexion as themselves. These latter wore little, cylindrical beards under the chin, like those of the Egyptian gods, but their faces were otherwise clean-shaven. Their hair was dressed in the Egyptian manner; and they wore the short Egyptian kilt as their only garment. In the shade of the trees herds of cattle are represented; donkeys are shown as beasts of burden; and white dogs, with hanging ears, are seen guarding the huts of their masters. Monkeys and baboon are shown climbing amongst the branches of the trees, where also



TWO MEN OF THE LAND OF PUNT BRINGING GIFTS TO QUEEN HETSHEPSUT,  
AS REPRESENTED ON A WALL AT DÉR EL-BAHIL.  
*See page 317.*



EGYPTIAN SOLDIERS ARRIVING IN THE LAND OF PUNT DURING THE EXPEDITION TO THAT COUNTRY  
DESPATCHED BY QUEEN HETSHEPSUT, AS REPRESENTED ON A WALL AT DÉR EL-BAHIL.  
*See page 315.*





many birds are represented. Panthers, hippopotami, giraffes, and other African animals, are also seen ; and it was perhaps because of their proximity that the huts were built high above the ground.

On the expedition's arrival, the Egyptian commander, Nehesi, went ashore unarmed, but followed by a small guard of soldiers carrying spears, battle-axes, bows-and-arrows, and shields. Gifts were then brought from the ships and placed temptingly upon a low table ; and here we see displayed strings of beads, bracelets, daggers, axes, and wooden chests. Presently the chieftain of the country arrived on the scenes ; and against the picture of him is written " The Great-one of Pount, Perohu," but as *Perohu* could mean simply " The Spokesman of the Tribe," this is probably not his actual name, as is generally thought. He was followed by his wife, an elderly woman, dressed in yellow, who had been so abnormally fat in earlier life that now her flesh is represented as hanging in folds ; and her squat little legs and enormous hips have provided features for the Egyptian artist to draw with evidently amused exaggeration. Against her is written " His wife, Ity " ; but here again, as *Ity* might mean simply " Chieftainess," it is doubtful whether scholars are right in supposing this to have been her actual name. Behind her were her two sons, and a daughter who is represented as well on the way to being as fat as her mother ; and then came three retainers leading a saddled donkey, over which the Egyptian artist has written " The donkey which bore his (the chieftain's) wife." Over the scene representing this meeting of the explorers and the natives is written : (1) " The arrival of the Royal Ambassador in God's Country, together with the troops which supported him, and his meeting with the chiefs of Pount," and (2) " The coming of the chiefs of Pount, doing obeisance with bowed head, to receive these troops of the (Egyptian) sovereign. They give praise to the Lord of the Gods, Amon-Re . . . , and, as they plead for peace, they say ' Why have you come here to this land which the people (of Egypt) do not know ? Did you descend from the paths of the skies, or did you sail over the waters, upon this sea belonging to God's country ? (Or,) have you trodden the (pathway of the) Sun-god ? And as to the King of Egypt, is there no highroad to his Majesty,

that we may (go to him and) live by the breath which he gives? ' "

Friendly relations having been established, the Egyptian commander pitched his tent, wherein he gave a feast to his hosts; and here the inscription says "The tent of the Royal Ambassador and his troops was pitched in the incense-groves of Pount near the shore of the sea, so as to receive the chiefs of this country; and there were served to them bread, beer, wine, meat, fruit, and everything that is found in Egypt, according to the instructions given at the Court." The chieftains brought with them a present of rings of gold, throw-sticks or boomerangs, and a great pile of the incense-gum which the Egyptians so greatly valued. The next incident which is described is the loading of the ships with the various products of the country, such as ivory, ebony and other wood, panther skins, gold, incense, living monkeys and baboons, and particularly with growing incense-trees, the roots of which were held in strong baskets and pots. The inscription describing this scene reads thus: "The loading of the ships very heavily with the wonderful things of the Land of Pount: all good and costly woods of God's Country, heaps of incense-resin, with incense-trees in bloom, with ebony and pure ivory, with the green (soft?) gold of the Land of Emu, with cinnamon-wood, *Khesyt*-wood (an unidentified wood having a pleasant smell), with *ihmut* (balsam?), resin, antimony, with apes, monkeys, dogs, with skins of the southern panthers, and with natives and their children. Never were brought the like of this to any king (of Egypt) who has been since the beginning (of history)."

Then followed the return journey, and we are shown the laden ships—the sacks of incense stacked on deck, the incense-trees standing in pots, the monkeys and baboons climbing about the rigging, and so forth; and the accompanying inscription here reads: "Sailing (home), and arriving in peace. The journey to Thebes (was made) with happy heart by the troops of the Lord of the Two Lands, with the chieftains of this Land (of Pount) behind them. They brought back such things as were never brought before to any king. . . ." Next we are shown the chieftains of Irim or Ilim, and the chieftains of Nemaeyu, two otherwise unknown tribes from

Pount, followed by their men, all kneeling before Hetshepsut, and presenting her with gifts; and now we see more fully the great variety of the produce and living creatures brought back to Egypt. There were two kinds of oxen; two species of panther, one of which seems to have been tame, being represented as collared and leashed; giraffes; baboons and monkeys; great quantities of panther skins; ostrich feathers and ostrich eggs; living incense-trees; costly woods such as ebony; ivory; antimony, to be used as eye-cosmetic; sacks of incense; gold; silver; electrum; lapis-lazuli; malachite; shells; throw-sticks or boomerangs; and so forth.

All these things were then presented by Hetshepsut to Amon, and the inscription here says that she herself supervised the weighing of the resin and the precious metals. Then "her Majesty herself put with her own hands the best of the incense on all her limbs, (so that) her fragrance was like the divine breath, and her scent was mingled with (that of) the Land of Pount. Her flesh was set with electrum, shining as do the stars in the canopy (of heaven), in view of the whole land. . . ." In return Amon is supposed to have made the following speech to her: "Welcome, my sweet daughter, my favourite . . . who makes my beautiful monuments, and purifies the throne of the great cycle of the gods for my dwelling-place, as a memorial of her love! . . . You satisfy my heart at all times! I have given you all life and peace (as a gift) from me, all stability from me, all health from me, all happiness from me. I have given you all countries and all lands that your heart may be glad therein; (for) I have long intended them for you, and the æons shall behold them until those myriads of years of (your) usefulness which I have conceived are spent. I have given you all the Land of Pount, even to the bounds of the territories of the gods of God's Country. No one had trodden the incense-groves, and the people knew them not: they were heard of (only) from mouth to mouth by rumour (from the time) of the ancestors. The wonderful things brought thence under your fathers, the Kings of Lower Egypt, were handed down from one to another; and since the time of the ancestors of the Kings of Upper Egypt who were of old, they have been (received only) as in return for much payment, none having (actually) reached those groves

except your messengers. But I will cause your troops to tread them, (for) I have led them by sea and by land to explore the waters of inaccessible channels, and I have (caused them to) reach the incense-groves. Glorious is the territory of God's Country: it is indeed my place of delight. I have made it for myself in order to divert my heart. . . . They (your troops) gathered incense as they wished; they loaded their ships to their hearts' content with incense-trees in bloom, and with every goodly product of this country. The people of Pount whom the people (of Egypt) knew not, those Southerners of God's Country, I conciliated them by love, that they might give praise to you, because you are a divinity, and because of your renown in (all) countries. . . . They (your troops) have brought back all the wonderful things, every beautiful thing of God's Country for which your Majesty sent them: heaps of incense-gum, and enduring trees bearing fresh incense, are grouped in the festival-hall to be seen of the Lord of the Gods. Let your Majesty cause them to grow (in the gardens of?) my temple, so that I may delight my heart amongst them. . . . (Thus) heaven and earth shall be flooded with incense, and there shall be fragrance in the Great House."

Finally there is an inscription which records how the queen held a levee, probably at the close of the Year 9 (the expedition having been despatched in the previous autumn), at which she told the Court of her success. It reads: "In the Year 9, there occurred a sitting in the audience-hall, at which the sovereign appeared (crowned) with the *etef*-crown, upon the great throne of electrum in the midst of the splendours of her palace. The nobles and peers of the Court came to hear the speech which was to be made, being a royal proclamation to her nobles . . . (in which she said): 'I am ascended for ever before your faces in accordance with that which my father has desired. Truly, it has been greatly my wish in doing so, that I might exalt him who begat me, and that, in recognition of my father, I might make splendid for him all his sacrificial offerings. That which my fathers, the (royal) ancestors, knew not, I am performing, just as the Great One (Isis) did for the Lord of Eternity (Osiris); and I am adding increase to that which was formerly done. I will cause it to be said to posterity: 'How good is she through whom this has happened!'

—because I have behaved so very well to him, and the depths of my heart have been full with (the thought of) that which is due to him. . . . (There was issued a decree of) my Majesty ordering (my people) to send to the incense-groves (of Pount), to explore its ways, to discover its extent, to open its high-roads, according to the command of my father Amon. . . . Trees were dug up in God's Country and planted in the ground of (Egypt). . . . My Majesty said: 'I will cause you to know that which was commanded me, (for) I have harkened to my father (and have heard) that which he decreed, (namely) to establish for him a Land of Pount in his temple, to plant the trees of God's Country beside his temple, in his garden, according as he commanded. (Now) it has been done. . . . I have made for him a Land of Pount in his garden, just as he commanded me, in Thebes. It is a spacious (garden) for him, and he shall walk abroad in it. . . .'" The end of this inscription is lost, but it probably told in the usual terms how her nobles rejoiced, and how they praised her for her good deeds.

During the next few years the building of the great mortuary temple at Dêr el-Bahri was proceeded with, and the scenes representing the main incidents of the expedition to Pount were sculptured upon its walls. The incense-trees were planted, it would seem, in earth-filled pits cut in the rock in front of the temple, or stood in tubs along its terraces. Such pits were found by the modern excavators in the courtyard before the building, and in some the stumps of the trees still remained; but these proved to be of the *Mimusops*, or *Persea* (*Zeitschrift*, xxxvii, 52), and as the remains of the trees which had been planted before the adjoining temple of the Eleventh Dynasty were of the sycamore-fig, we may perhaps picture a variety of trees growing here in the sun-flooded desert arena in front of the white terraces of the temple, and forming a miniature forest of green foliage, the shade of which must have looked like pools of blue water on either side of the white causeway leading up from the distant fields.

Meanwhile, the work of excavating a tomb for the queen was continued, and, as has already been said, a long tunnel was burrowed under the cliffs behind the temple, having its entrance hidden away in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings,

and terminating in a hall which was intended to be situated deep in the solid rock exactly underneath the sanctuary of the temple. Here in this hall she planned to be buried, and thus the mortuary services for the benefit of her soul would be held directly above her mummy as it lay in its secret sepulchre below, and her spirit would rise up each day through the solid rock to greet the sunrise on the terraces of her temple. The actual tunnel leading down to the burial hall was some 700 feet in length, and in that distance descended over 300 feet in depth; but it curved off to the right, either owing to the workmen having lost their sense of direction as they laboured in the dim light of their lamps, or owing to the poor quality of the rock, which obliged them to swerve aside. In the burial-hall, the rough walls of which were lined with limestone slabs inscribed with religious texts, the queen placed a fine quartzite-sandstone sarcophagus for the reception of her mummy; and later on, acting on a new idea which had come to her, she placed another sarcophagus here for the mummy of her father, Thutmose I. It seems certain to me that she actually disinterred him from his own tomb further along the valley and reburied him here; for some fragments of the funeral paraphernalia were found in this sepulchre by the modern excavators (Davis: *Tomb of Hatshepsut*, 106), and these, in my opinion, belonged to the original burial of Thutmose I, for there was a large alabaster bowl inscribed with her name, but she is here called simply the Divine Consort Hetshepsut, a form of address which she used as wife of Thutmose II at the time when Thutmose I was buried, but which she had abandoned in favour of her Pharaonic names and titles when this tomb was made. There was also a vase inscribed with the name of Thutmose I and that of his father's wife, Queen Ahmose-Nofretiri, and another vase bore the name of Thutmose I, and that of Thutmose II who had presented it to him; and these could hardly have belonged to the queen's own burial equipment.

This increasing adoration of her father which thus seems to have led the queen at last to take the unprecedented step of reburying him in her own tomb, must have been a new source of irritation to Thutmose III, who must have regarded it as adding yet another insult to the many which were heaped

upon him during this period; for the implication was that his father Thutmose II had been a usurper, and that Hetshepsut wished to ignore his memory by thus linking her reign with that of Thutmose I, and amalgamating the future ministrations to their spirits. The queen, moreover, having thus decided to share her tomb with her father, now added a chapel to her mortuary temple at Dêr el-Bahri, which she dedicated to the spirit of Thutmose I and to that of his mother, her own grandmother, Sensonb; but there was no such chapel to Thutmose II, and his name was hardly mentioned throughout the temple inscriptions, although that of Thutmose III appears here and there. Hetshepsut even seems to have gone to the extent of introducing the figure and name of Thutmose I into the sculptures and inscriptions upon the temple walls, so that he should be seen by all men to be spiritually united with her: that is to say, she caused figures of herself here and there, where she felt they would not be missed, to be altered into figures of her father, a not difficult operation, since she herself had been represented there dressed in male garments, like a Pharaoh, and having the titles of a king, and not of a queen, little else but the name, therefore, having to be altered. This imposing of the name of Thutmose I over that of Hetshepsut, for which, I think, my explanation is pretty obvious, has led some scholars to believe that Thutmose I must have lived on until this time, and must himself have ordered his name to be written over that of Hetshepsut (Breasted, *History*, p. 270); but this theory, which was first put forward by Sethe, is too fantastic to be worth consideration.

As has already been said (page 312) the Prime Minister at this time was the great noble Hapusonb, who, by making himself also High Priest of Amon, had united Church and State in the cause of the queen. This important personage now made one of his sons High Priest, and another Chief Ritual-Priest, of the deified Thutmose I, as is recorded in his shrine at Gebel Silsileh (Weigall, *Guide*, 367). These priests probably officiated at Dêr el-Bahri; and at that temple there was now a special High Priest of Amon-in-Thoserthosru (the name of Dêr el-Bahri). He was a certain Senu, and under him were priests of the grades known as the 1st, 2nd, 3rd and 4th orders, as an unnumbered inscription in



the Louvre records (Breasted, *Records*, II, § 679, note *d*).

I suppose the temple was not finished for some years, and before it was completed the queen had celebrated another jubilee, for she has recorded in scenes and inscriptions on the walls of the lower terrace the making and erection of two more jubilee obelisks at the temple of Karnak. It will be remembered (page 288) that the first pair were brought to Karnak in the 16th year of the reign of Thutmose II, 1498 B.C., in readiness for the jubilee celebrations of the 17th year, 1497 B.C., which marked the completion of a period of 30 calendar years since her birth. There seems to have been some opposition, however, to her celebration of this jubilee, and these two obelisks had remained uninscribed until the 9th year of her reign with Thutmose III, when, having managed to get the power into her own hands, she had at last been able to complete the work and to engrave her new Pharaonic names and titles upon them. The period of time which had to elapse between the first and second and subsequent celebrations of a jubilee in any one reign is not definitely known, and there is nothing to indicate when the queen caused these two new obelisks to be made; but possibly the jubilee for which they were ordered was held in the Year 17, 1477 B.C., which would have marked the completion of a period of 20 years since the first jubilee, for Thutmose III celebrated jubilees 10 and 20 years after his first jubilee.

The inscriptions relating to these obelisks begin with a recitation of Hetshepsut's names and titles, and she is described as being that "splendid part of her father Amon-Re, Lord of Heaven, which has not been far removed from the Father of All Gods; shining in brilliance like the god of the Horizon; the Sun-goddess giving light like the sun, reviving the hearts of the people; who is (so) exalted in name (that) it has reached Heaven; and whose renown has encompassed the Great Circle (of the earth)." Then, in words of which only a few fragments remain, we read of "the work of building very large vessels" for the transport of the obelisks from the quarries at Aswân to the temple at Karnak; of the gathering of a whole army of men "to load the two obelisks at Iebo (Elephantine)," and "the mustering of young men from the entire Two Lands." Sculptured scenes show us the obelisks lying upon these vessels

which are being towed down stream by 27 barges propelled by oars, these barges being arranged in three rows each led by a pilot-boat, while on other escorting boats priests are saying prayers and burning incense for the success of the undertaking. The accompanying inscription here speaks of "sailing down stream in gladness of heart," and refers to the queen's jubilee. Then we read of "the successful landing at Victorious Thebes (while) heaven rejoices and the earth is in festivity." On shore, at Karnak, we see soldiers carrying branches of trees in celebration of the occasion, and a company of archers led by a bugler; while priests and butchers prepare the sacrifices, and soldiers and officials hasten to and fro. Here the inscription reads: "The rejoicing of the royal sailors of the ship(s) of the sovereign. They cry: 'Listen to the shouting! Heaven is in festivity, the earth rejoices, (for) Amon has increased the years of his daughter who has made (these) his monuments, (that she may sit) upon the Hawk-throne of the living, like the Sun-god, for ever!' There are shouts from the recruits of the South and North, the young men of Thebes, and the youths of Khenthennofer (Nubia), for the life, prosperity, and health of the Reed- and Hornet-sovereign Maetkere (Hetshepsut), and of the Reed- and Hornet-sovereign Menkheperre (Thutmose III), that their hearts may be glad, like the Sun-god, for ever." Over the sacrificial offerings is written: "An offering for your spirit, O Lord of the Gods, that you may give health to Maetkere at this jubilee festival of 'Myriads of Years.'" It will be noticed that the crowds are said to acclaim Thutmose III as well as Hetshepsut; and it is plain that, although the queen was in absolute power at this time, she was, for form's sake, obliged to recognize him as her co-regent. For instance a stela now in the Vatican (Piehl, *Recueil*, II, 129) records the repairing of the necropolis-fortress at Thebes; and while the inscription gives the queen's titles and names, and tells how *she* carried out the work out of *her* love for Amon, she has allowed the figure of Thutmose III to be represented at the top of the tablet, standing modestly, however, behind a figure of herself, but his name is not mentioned in the dedicatory inscription itself. Here and there throughout the temple sculptures at Dêr el-Bahri his figure is represented; but here again she allowed him only a minimum of recognition,

generally placing his figure behind her own, and he must have found it hard to suppress his anger against her and against Senmut, Hapusonb, and the other great nobles who supported her. As we shall see, in later years, when he had at last come into his own, he turned upon these men and crushed them utterly; but for the present he seems to have been clever enough to hold his peace. It may be that during these years of his eclipse he was gradually rising in popularity with the army, for, in the above-mentioned scene of the transport of the obelisks, it is the soldiers who greet him; and in the Wady Maghara in Sinai (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 28) there is a rock-inscription recording the arrival there of a certain officer at the head of an army, and the date is given as Year 16 of Maetkere (Hetshepsut) and Menkheperre (Thutmose III) together, and, for once, of apparently equal importance.

It will be remembered that the queen had two daughters, Nofrure and Hetshepsut-Merytre, both being the children of the late Thutmose II. Princess Nofrure, as has been said, was probably born in about the 1st year of the reign of Thutmose II (page 289), and was therefore 11 at the time when the queen's first two obelisks were being quarried at Aswân in the 15th year of that reign; for the great nobleman Senmut who left an inscription there, saying that he conducted the work, tells us that he then held the position of Chief Steward of the Household of this Princess Nofrure. Egyptian girls were regarded as being of marriageable age at about 12 or 13, and the fact that Nofrure had a household of her own at the age of 11 is not surprising; but she was called at that time simply "Princess," and it is evident, of course, that she was not married. She was, however, heiress of the kingdom, being the eldest daughter of Thutmose II and Hetshepsut; and therefore one may suppose, as I have already said (page 297), that, when Thutmose II died, Hetshepsut did not wish her to be married to Thutmose III, for by such a marriage the claim of Thutmose III to the crown would have been made complete, and Hetshepsut might have found herself shelved. Now, in the sculptures and inscriptions at Dêr el-Bahri, which were executed shortly after the 9th year of the reign of Thutmose III, Princess Nofrure is represented and mentioned more than once, but her title is still simply "Prin-

cess," and she was evidently not yet married, although she must now have been 24 to 26 years of age. This, I think, can only mean that Hetshepsut had not yet ceased to fear that the Princess's marriage to Thutmose III might endanger her own position, and it seems that she still refused to allow it, preferring that Nofrure should remain in what must have been regarded as a most unnatural state of singleness, rather than that she should become the wife of Thutmose III, and thereby confirm his kingship. But after Queen Hetshepsut had consolidated her position as a sovereign ruler and co-regent with Thutmose III, it would appear that her fears in this regard ceased to trouble her, for her position as real ruler of the country seemed now so secure ; and thus at last she consented to the marriage of Nofrure to the much-suppressed Thutmose III. The marriage probably took place in the winter of the 11th year, 1483 B.C., that is to say a little over two years after Hetshepsut had assumed the position of a Pharaoh ; for a tablet has been found in Sinai (Gardiner and Peet, *Sinai*), dated in " Year 11," and naming a Steward of the Estate of the goddess Mut, named Sen.... (not Senmut) and " the Divine Consort Nofrure." This title " Divine Consort " means that Nofrure was now a queen, and therefore it is clear that she had at last been married to Thutmose III.

Queen Hetshepsut continued to hold her Pharaonic position with apparently undiminished power for several years, and her co-regent, Thutmose III, remained until her death in his gallingly subordinate situation. It may be said of the queen that throughout her reign she managed to keep Egypt at peace ; and since we shall presently see that immediately after she had died Thutmose III launched the impatient Egyptian armies on what was to prove to be an astounding series of victories in Asia, we can both credit Hetshepsut with splendid pacific qualities and at the same time can realize how her co-regent must have fretted under her restraining hand. It is hard to say, of course, whether Hetshepsut herself was responsible for this peaceful epoch in Egypt's history, when the country developed enormously in riches and prosperity, or whether the wise and orderly government of the time is to be placed to the credit of that little group of nobles who supported her, and especially to the credit of Senmut ; but

one has the impression that it was he who really governed the land.

Senmut's history is interesting. He was the son of a man named Remose and of his wife Henofre: neither of them has any recorded title, but there is no reason to suppose that they were not of good family, and, indeed, the name Remose sounds aristocratic, for there was a royal Prince called Remose who lived at the beginning of the dynasty. Senmut tells us that he had served Hetshepsut ever since the death of Thutmose I; and we have already seen how he had risen to be Steward of the household of Princess Nofrure by the 15th year of the reign of Thutmose II, and how Hetshepsut then entrusted to him the difficult task of quarrying her two obelisks at Aswân. Later he became Chief Steward of the vast estates of Amon, and Chief Steward also of the queen's own property; and incidentally he was Director of all Building-works, Superintendent of the Gardens of Amon, and of the cattle of that god, and of his granaries, and Superintendent of the Priests of Mentu of On-of-the-South (Hermonthis, Arment). On a statue representing him which was found in the temple of Mut (the mother-goddess, wife of Amon) at Karnak (Benson and Gourlay, *Temple of Mut*, 299), there is an inscription stating that it was presented by the queen, and was to stand for ever in the temple of Mut so that Senmut's spirit might benefit by having a share in the sacrificial offerings made to the goddess, and thus might "extend the period of his lifetime to eternity, being well remembered among the people in the years to come." He is described as one "who conducted all the works of the Sovereign, in Opet (Karnak), in On-of-the-South (Arment), in Thoserthosru (Dêr el-Bahri), in the temple of Mut in Ishru (a part of Karnak), in the southern Opet (Luxor), and maintained the monuments of the Lord of the Two Lands, enlarging and restoring these works, without deafness (i.e. inattention) in regard to anything that was commanded by the Court. . . . He was his Sovereign's faithful servant, there being no one else possessed of his qualities; strong-hearted, and never neglectful in regard to the monuments of the Lord of the Gods (Amon)." "I was the greatest of the great in the whole land," he is made to say, "one who heard that which was heard alone in the Privy Council; I

was the real favourite of the Sovereign, acting as one who was praised by his Lord every day ; I was one who acted with truth, and did not show partiality, and with whose orders the Lord of the Two Lands was satisfied ; I was one who entered (the palace) in love, and came forth in favour, making glad the heart of his Sovereign every day ; . . . I was foreman of the foremen, superior of the great, superintendent of all works in the Treasury, conductor of every handicraft ; I was one to whom the affairs of the Two Lands were reported, and that which South and North contributed was in my care, while the labour of all countries was under my charge. . . . I was a noble to whom one listened ; moreover, I had access to all the archives of the priests, and there was nothing which I did not know of (all) that which had happened since the beginning (of history). . . . I was master of all the people, chief of the whole land, . . . revered by the great god."

In thus setting forth his honours and his virtues, Senmut was acting in accordance with the Egyptian custom, for it was always thought necessary for a man to impress posterity with his greatness in order that in the years to come the prayers for the welfare of his soul might not be forgotten ; and in this inscription he reminds the reader that such prayers are " a thing about which one should not be neglectful." " O you who are living on earth," he says, addressing the priests of the future, " who shall see this my statue which I have fashioned as a portrait (of me), that I may be remembered in the underworld, may your great goddess (Mut) be gracious to you for saying a prayer for . . . the spirit of Senmut, who conveys the utterances of the Sovereign to the Peers, who is useful to the Sovereign, faithful to his god, without stain before the people ! (Pray that) Amon may grant that I go hence as a living soul, that I may breathe the sweet north wind, that I may partake of the sacrificial bread from the altar of Amon at every feast of heaven and earth. . . . (Pray) ' May he go hence as a living soul ; may he follow the Lord of the Gods, . . . may his name not perish for ever ! . . . May Mut give of her sacrificial offerings to Senmut, greatest of the great, noblest of the noble ! May Mut give of all that comes from off her altar in Karnak and in the temples of the gods of the South and North, for the spirit of Senmut, Master

of the Secrets of the temple ! May Mut give of her offerings of bread, beer, oxen, and geese ! May she grant that he drink water at the living stream ! ”

So great did Senmut become that in the sculptures and inscriptions at Dêr el-Bahri, his figure is represented and named with gods and Pharaohs on the doorway leading to the shrine of Thutmose I, and he has been permitted to pray there to Amon for the welfare of that king's soul ; and in that temple he is also represented as offering a prayer to the goddess Hathor for the soul of the queen. But the height of his career is evinced in a shrine which he made for himself at Gebel Silsileh ; for there he is represented as being embraced by the gods, a divine compliment which none but kings had ever before been shown as receiving. In other shrines at this sacred place the other nobles who have been allowed to make them are represented with their families, much as they would be in the wall-paintings shown in their mortuary chapels ; but in the case of Senmut's shrine one sees him associated only with the gods, and in communion with them (Weigall, *Guide*, 367).

It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that when the queen at length died, Senmut fell headlong from power ; and in anticipation I may here say that in the end his name was erased and his figure hacked out of the sculptures wherever they were found. He had made for himself a magnificent tomb at Thebes, but this, too, was wrecked by the vengeful Thutmose III. Senmut, indeed, seems to have known all along that if Hetshepsut died, he would receive no mercy at the hands of her successor ; for he took a curious precaution to circumvent the feared erasure of his name, and the consequent annihilation of his personality in the spirit world. In his devastated tomb (Weigall, *Guide*, 148) one can still see how he caused his name to be written here and there on the face of the rock *under* the plastered walls, so that if the paintings on this plaster were erased, his identity would still remain inscribed there, hidden from the sight of his enemies but visible to the spirits.

There is a very interesting inscribed statue representing Senmut nursing the little Princess Nofrure, now in Berlin (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 25), which was made during the

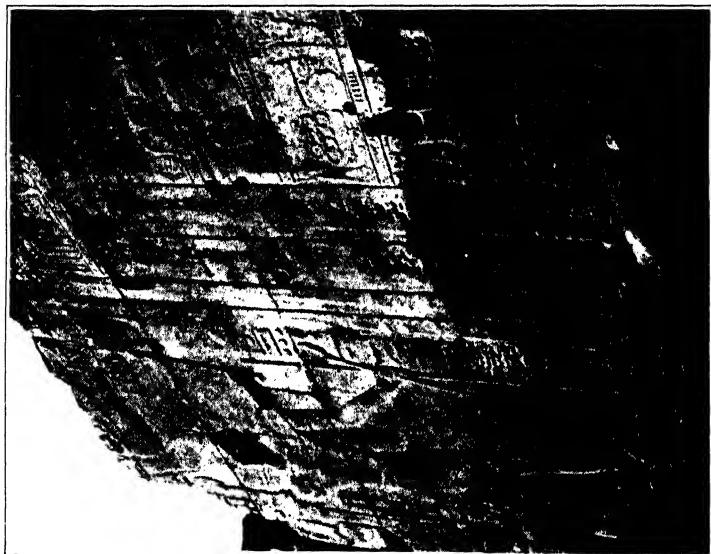
reign of Hetshepsut, but which seems to have been resculptured and restored at the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty, as the treatment of the faces clearly shows (Weigall, *Ancient Egyptian Works of Art*, 173). An added inscription reads, " (This is the statue of) Senmut, deceased, (whose name) is not to be found amongst the (official) annals of the ancestors, (but who was) the great Father-tutor of the Royal Daughter, Sovereign of the Two Lands, Divine Consort, Nofrure (deceased), which I made according to the thought of my heart," (i.e. which some unknown well-wisher of later times conceived the idea of restoring out of respect for his memory). Next follows a prayer which was part of the original inscription, and then Senmut is made to say " I was a noble beloved of his Sovereign, who was in sympathy with the wonderful schemes of the Mistress of the Two Lands (i.e. Hetshepsut). She exalted me before the Two Lands, and appointed me to be chief of her estates throughout the entire country. I was the superior of the superiors, the chief of the chiefs of (all) works. I was in her service in this land since the time of the death of her predecessor (Thutmose I). During (all my) life I served under the Mistress of the Two Lands, the Reed- and Hornet-sovereign, Maetkere (Hetshepsut), who lives for ever." The reason, of course, why a record of him was unable to be found in the ancestral annals was not, as Egyptologists have thought, because his parents were of humble origin, but because his name had been everywhere erased by Thutmose III. Senmut paid the price of his supereminence and died in ignominy; but one is glad to think that in the end the name of this great man was restored to the scroll of honour, and that his spirit was thus able to participate in the sacrificial offerings until the temple altars were deserted and the gods themselves forgotten.

Mention has already been made of another great supporter of Hetshepsut, the Prime Minister and High Priest of Amon, Hapusonb. He, too, fell into disgrace in the end, and his mortuary chapel at Thebes (No. 67) is wrecked, while his shrine at Gebel Silsileh has also suffered. A statue of him was found in the temple of Mut at Karnak (Benson and Gourlay: *Temple of Mut*, 312); and another was unearthed in the main temple (Cairo Mus. No. 39393); while the inscrip-



tion on a cone from his tomb (*Annales*, III, 119) shows that he also held the position of "Superintendent of all the Works of the Sovereign," and "Superintendent of the Priests of South and North." A third statue is now in the Louvre (*Proceedings Soc. Bib. Arch.*, xxii, 31), and in the inscription on this he tells us that it was he who directed the work on the queen's tomb, and he speaks of having made "altars of gold, silver, and lapis-lazuli, vessels, necklaces (for the statues of the gods), two doors of copper of a single piece, a shrine of fine limestone," and many other things for Amon. There is a fourth statue now at Bologna, but on this the inscription has been hacked out by the orders of Thutmose III.

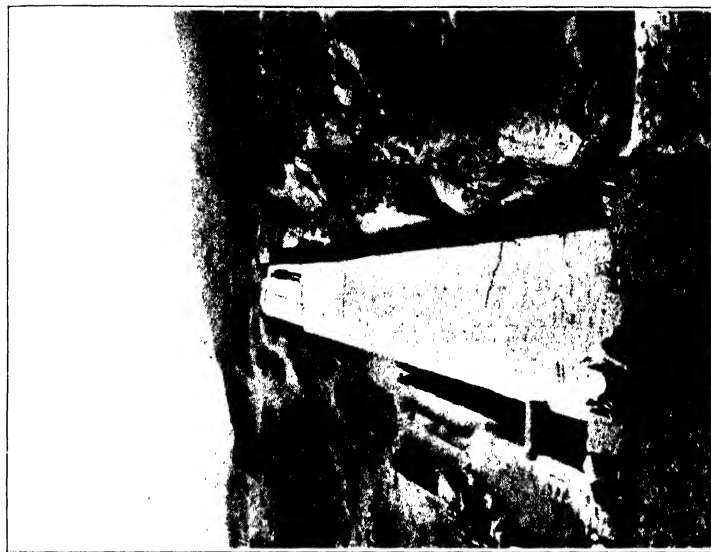
Amongst the other great nobles I may mention Nehesi, the officer who commanded the expedition to Pount (page 313): he also had a shrine at Gebel Silsileh (Weigall, *Guide*, 366). References to him in the temple of Dêr el-Bahri have been erased, which shows that he, too, fell a victim to the wrath of Thutmose III. Then there was Senmen, brother of the great Senmut: his mortuary chapel at Thebes is now numbered 252, and there we read that he held the position of Steward and "Nurse" to a "Divine Consort" unnamed, probably the Princess Hetshepsut-Merytre who married Thutmose III. There was also a Chief Steward named Menkh, the son of the architect Ineni (page 262), who had a shrine at Gebel Silsileh (Weigall, *Guide*, 368) where his name is erased, though it can still be read. He evidently fell into disgrace with his colleagues at the death of Hetshepsut; and he may be the owner of the mortuary chapel No. 73, at Thebes, the inscriptions there recording a Chief Steward, whose name is erased, but who was also a Superintendent of the Builders and was employed on the making of two of the queen's obelisks. Lastly, I may mention another of Hetshepsut's great supporters, the Treasurer Thuty, whose mortuary chapel is No. 11 at Thebes. Being Treasurer he was in charge of all the work executed for the queen in precious metals and stones, and in valuable wood; but he also was disgraced in the end, and his name is erased at Dêr el-Bahri. On his mortuary tablet (*Recueil*, xxii, 115) he says: "I acted as the chief, giving the directions, and led the craftsmen at work on the construction of the great barge (for the festival) of the Beginning of



THUTMOSE III PRESENTING TO AMON TWO OBELISKS AND MANY  
OTHER GIFTS AT HIS SECOND JUBILEE.

From Englebach: *The Problem of the Obelisks*.

See *ibid.* 387.



AN UNFINISHED GRANITE OBELISK ABANDONED IN THE QUARRIES  
AT ASWAN OWING TO CRACKS HAVING DEVELOPED IN THE STONE.

(From Englebach: *The Problem of the Obelisks*).

See *ibid.* 288.



the Flood (named) 'Mighty is the Presence of Amon' (see page 254). It was wrought with gold of the best of the desert (mines), and it illuminated the Two Lands with its gleams. (I directed the work on) a shrine for the horizon of the god, and (on) his great throne of electrum . . . (I directed the work at) Thoserthosru (Dêr el-Bahri), the temple of myriads of years, on its great doors made of black copper, the inlaid figures being of electrum; and (at the temple called) 'Shining on the Horizon,' the great seat of Amon (which is) his horizon in the west, all its doors being of real cedar wrought with bronze; and (at) the temple of Amon (which is) his enduring horizon of eternity, its pavement being wrought with gold and silver (so that) its beauty is like the horizon of heaven. (I directed the work on) a great shrine of Nubian ebony, the stairs beneath it, high and wide, being of pure alabaster from the Hetnub (quarries); and (on) a kiosk for the god, wrought with gold and silver (so that) it lit up the faces (of the beholders) with its brilliance. (I directed the work on) the great doors, high and wide, in the temple of Karnak, wrought with copper and bronze, the inlaid figures being of electrum; (on) the splendid necklaces and large amulets (for the statues of the gods), of electrum and every precious stone; (on) the two great obelisks whose height was 108 cubits (probably meaning 54 cubits each), wrought all over with electrum, which filled the Two Lands with their brilliance; (on) an august gate (named) 'Terror-of-Amon,' fashioned of copper in one sheet, and (on) its counterpart also; (on) many altars for Amon in Karnak, made of limitless electrum and of every precious stone; (on) magnificent coffers, wrought with copper and electrum . . .; (and on) a great throne and shrine made of granite, whose durability is like the pillars of heaven and whose work is a thing of eternity. Now, all the wonders of all the tribute of all lands, and the best of the wonderful things of the Land of Pount, were offered to Amon, Lord of Karnak . . . and I was the one who listed them, because I was so excellent in my sovereign's opinion. She recognized me as one who does that which he says, (yet) keeps silent about the affairs of her palace. She appointed me to be a leader in the palace, knowing that I was instructed in my work. Her Majesty commanded me to make (a measurement? of)

electrum of the best of the desert (mines), in the midst of the festival hall ; and I measured it by the *heket* for Amon in the presence of the whole land, the account thereof being  $88\frac{1}{2}$  *hekets* ( $11\frac{4}{5}$  bushels). . . . All these things happened in truth, and this is no lying statement. I was vigilant, and my heart was excellent in the opinion of my sovereign, that I might rest (when I was dead) in the high desert which belongs to the blessed who are in the Necropolis ; that my memory might abide on earth ; that my soul might live with (Osiris), Lord of Eternity ; that it might not be turned back by the guardians who watch the gates of the Underworld ; that it might come forth at the invocation of those who place the offerings at my tomb in the Necropolis ; that it might abound in food ; and that it might have drink to overflowing, and might quaff the living water of the river."

Surrounded by these great men, whose fortunes depended upon hers, Hetshepsut passed her remaining years very gloriously, and the splendour of her Court seems to have far surpassed anything known previously in Egyptian history. Her fame must have spread far and wide throughout the civilized world ; and one of the only remaining fragments of painting in the tomb of Senmut shows us the figures of envoys from the distant island of Crete, bringing rich presents to the queen. Her activities were widespread. At Serabit el-Khâdim in Sinai she reopened the mines, and pieces of glazed vases bearing her name have been found there. I may mention in passing that the writer of one inscription at that place has been so confused by the co-regency of Hetshepsut and Thutmose III that he has written Maetkere-Thutmose as the two names of one sovereign (Gardiner and Peet, *Sinai*). At Wady Maghâra there is a stela of the " Year 16," whereon Hetshepsut and Thutmose III are both represented, the former having some sort of drapery over her male attire. At Buto, in the Delta, a seal of the temple of Amon inscribed with her name has been discovered. From Abydos come some temple vases (Mariette, *Abydos*, No. 1468) ; at Medinet Habu there are traces of her work (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 27) ; and at Karnak she left various remains. At El Kâb an inscription of hers has been found (Rosellini, *Mon. Storici*, III, i, 130) ; there was a gateway inscribed with her name at Kom Ombo

(Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 28) ; and at Buhen (Wady Halfa) she erected an imposing temple (MacIver and Woolley, *Buhen*, 10). There are several stelæ and statues of hers, also, in various museums.

Probably in the last years of her life she caused a rock-temple or grotto to be made at Beni Hasan (*Recueil*, vi, 20 ; Breasted, *Records*, II, § 296), dedicated to the feline goddess Pekhet or Pakht, who was identified in Greek times with Artemis, the temple therefore coming to be known to Greek travellers as the *Speos Artemidos*, or "Cave of Artemis." (The modern Egyptians call it the *Stabl Antar*, or "Stable of Antar," a famous Moslem hero.) On the face of the rock, above the pillared portico, there is a long inscription (*Recueil*, vi, 20), now somewhat damaged, wherein the queen records some of the pious works she has carried out, and relates how she has restored temples which had remained in ruins since the days of the Hyksos invaders. "The altars are (now) consecrated (again)," she says, "and the sanctuaries have been enlarged in the chosen seats of all the gods, (so that) each one of them is (again) in possession of the dwelling which he has loved, and his spirit rests upon his throne (therein). . . . Every (sacred) statue is overlaid as to its body with electrum of Amemu ; their feasts are fixed at the (correct) period of time ; the festival sacrifice is made at its (proper) date, according to the authority of the commandment of my Creator ; and the canons of the deity (?) which he ordained for that (particular temple?) are perpetuated. My divine mind has searched out (these things) for the sake of the future ; and my heart has (understood ?) that which it had never known before, by means of the command which the hidden persea-tree (the tree of knowledge), lord of myriads of years, has communicated to me. I have made clear the truth which he (the god) loved, (for) I know that he lives by it : it is my bread, and I eat of its radiance, I (who) am (made in) the likeness of his limbs and am one with him, he having begotten me to make mighty his power in this land. . . . I have executed that which the Sun-god exacted at the beginning (of the world), for all countries are under my authority, and the Black-land and the Red-land are subject to me. My renown makes the great-ones of the nations bow down (before

me), while the (royal) cobra upon my forehead subjugates all lands. The Land of Reshu and the Land of Yu cannot hide from my Majesty. The Land of Pount is mine, and its fields of sycamores bearing fresh incense : (also) its highways which were closed in both directions, (for) since I was crowned as sovereign, my soldiers have overthrown those that did not pay me tribute (?). (Now, as to) the temple of (Hathor), Lady of Kousai (Cusae) which had fallen in ruins, the ground (i.e. the accumulations of rubbish) had swallowed its venerable shrine, so that the children played above its sanctuary, its (sacred) serpent caused no fear, and the poor counted their (grain ?) on its roof, and no (religious) processions went by (to stop them). But I raised it, building it anew, and I made its (sacred) statue in gold, so that it should watch over its city. . . . And (as to) the great goddess Pakht, who traverses the valleys in the midst of the Eastern Desert, whose ways are in the tempests, . . . I made her (this) temple out of the material which belonged to her cycle of gods, the doors being of acacia-wood, fitted with bronze. (I established her festivals ?) at their due seasons, and (caused) her priests (to) know this (calendar). . . . The altar was wrought with silver and gold ; and there are chests of linen, and every sacred vessel that should belong to (such a) place."

She speaks next of having built another temple, whose name is lost, making it of limestone and alabaster, with doors of copper and electrum, whereon were figures of the god Min. Then she says : " Listen to me, all men !—you people as many as there are of you ! I have done this according to the plan in my mind, and without remission until I had accomplished my purpose. I have restored that which was in ruins, and I have raised up that which had been left since the Asiatics were in Hauar (Avaris) in the Northland, and the foreign barbarians were (here) in your midst, overthrowing that which had been made, and ruling in ignorance of Re (the Sun-god). Nothing was done according to the divine command, until the time when my Majesty was established upon the throne of the Sun-god and was put in authority thereon ; (that is to say) until two 60-year periods (had passed). Then I came like Horwatit (the Hawk deity) flaming (with indignation) against my enemies, and I removed this insult to the great god."

This mention of two periods of 60 years has generally been thought to be figurative, but I think it is possible that it was intended to be taken literally, the statement meaning that though 120 years had elapsed since the Asiatics had left those parts, no attempt had been made to restore the temples. In this case the evacuation of this region of Upper Egypt by the Hyksos would have taken place somewhere about 1595 B.C., which is a quite likely date for their withdrawal to Memphis and Lower Egypt, as may be seen on page 210.

Now we come to the last phase of the queen's life, for she died in 1472 B.C. when she was no more than 57 or 58 years of age. Some months before her death she seems to have fallen ill, or for some other reason to have lost her grip upon the reins of government; for we find that her co-regent, Thutmose III, who was now a man of 37 or 38 years of age, had placed himself at the head of the army and was about to lead them into Syria. In after-years he caused the annals of his campaigns to be inscribed upon the walls of one of the Karnak temples; and, in order to understand the situation, the beginning of these annals must be discussed here at some length. The inscription reads as follows:—"In the Year 22, on the 25th day of the 4th month of the 2nd season, being in Tharu (the last Egyptian outpost on the north-eastern frontier) for the purpose of (leading) the first grand expedition to extend by force the frontiers of Egypt, . . ." Here there is a break, after which the inscription continues: ". . . for that was the period in the years of disagreement, when each man fought with his (neighbour). . . ." Then comes another lacuna, after which we read: "Now, it happened that the tribesmen . . ." Here follows another break, and then ". . . the people who were in the city of Sharuhén (on the Syrian frontier, page 244), and behold, from Yeraza (in north-west Judea) to the marshes of the earth (i.e. beyond the Euphrates) there had begun a revolt against his Majesty. (Then) in the Year 23, 4th day of the 1st month of the 3rd season, the day of the feast of the king's accession, (he was) at Gaza, a city which the *Hîq*-prince had taken possession of, and on the 5th day of the 1st month of the 3rd season, he set out from this place in might, in power, and in triumph, to overthrow that wretched enemy." Then follows the story



of the campaign, which will be told in the next chapter.

Now, as I have shown on page 21, the regnal years always coincided with the calendar years; that is to say, New Year's Day was not only the first day of the calendar year, but was also the first day of the new regnal year. At this time, New Year's Day fell on about August 11th, and that was the day, therefore, when the change from "Year 22" to "Year 23" took place. The king, then, was at Tharu, waiting to set out on his expedition, in the spring of the 22nd year, when, on the 25th day of the 4th month of the 2nd season (corresponding to about April 3rd), something occurred which caused the abandonment of the enterprise, and which was followed by some kind of trouble wherein "each man fought with his neighbour." This trouble seems to have occurred in Egypt, not in Syria as has generally been thought; for later on in the annals we are told that the Syrian nations at that time were united into one great confederacy. Taking advantage of this trouble in Egypt the Syrians revolted; and when the campaign was recommenced a year later, on the 4th day of the 1st month of the 3rd season (i.e. about April 12th), in the "Year 23," the king had to face a widespread rebellion in Asia.

In my opinion the event which caused the trouble was the death of Hetshepsut. Manetho tells us that the queen reigned 21 years and 9 months, which means to say that she died in the 22nd year, either at the end of the 9th month or the beginning of the 10th month; and if the event recorded in the annals as occurring on the 25th day of the 4th month of the 2nd season (i.e. on the 25th day of the 9th month) in the 22nd year is to be regarded as her death, then Manetho might well have spoken of her reign as lasting 21 years and 9 months, for it would have been only 5 days short of that figure, and he generally used the nearest round number. Thutmose III would not have referred to the queen by name, or to the end of her reign; for, when the annals were written down, he had wiped that reign from the public records, and would not allow the queen to be so much as mentioned. Thus he may well have referred to her time as "the years of disagreement." If this be so, then the beginning of the annals may have read as follows:—"In the Year 22, on April 3rd, being in Tharu

for the purpose of leading the first grand expedition to extend by force the frontiers of Egypt, (his Majesty received that news which obliged him to delay the campaign) for that was the period, in those years of disagreement, when each man fought with his neighbour (and this civil strife had to be suppressed). Now, it happened that the tribesmen (reported this trouble in Egypt to) the people who were in Sharuhén, and soon from Judea to the Euphrates there had begun a (general) revolt against his Majesty. Then, in the Year 23, on April 12th, which was the anniversary of the king's accession (as dated from the death of Thutmose II), he was at Gaza, a city which the (rebel) *Hiq*-prince (perhaps the Asiatic prince of Sharuhén, page 244) had taken possession of; and on April 13th he set out from this place . . ." etc.

This interpretation of the beginning of the annals should be studied with care, for Egyptologists have always thought that the years of a Pharaoh's reign were dated from the day of his accession, and had nothing to do with the calendar years, and hence that the " Year 23 " of the reign of Thutmose III began on the 4th day of the 1st month of the 3rd season (April 12th). Working on this basis they have supposed that the king's presence in Tharu was dated 9 days before his entry into Gaza (more than 160 miles away), and that the former event fell at the end of " Year 22," while the latter occurred on the first day of " Year 23." I, on the other hand, think that the regnal years coincided with the calendar years (page 25), and therefore that the change from " Year 22 " to " Year 23 " took place at that time in August; and hence there is a gap not of 9 days, but of a year and 9 days, between the two events, which means that the start of the expedition was delayed by the death of Hetshepsut and the civil war in Egypt which resulted therefrom.

We are to picture Thutmose III, then, as being in camp with his army at the frontier fortress of Tharu in the spring of the 22nd year, 1472 B.C., when suddenly came the news of the queen's death which had occurred on April 3rd. The king's delight must have been unbounded, for now at long last the misery of his suppression was over, and he would be free to rule alone. For 13 years he had writhed under the insults which had been heaped upon him; but now he had

the army behind him and he would be able to revenge himself. The great nobles who had supported Hetshepsut—the Chief Steward Senmut, his brother Senmen, the High Priest of Amon and Prime Minister Hapusonb, the Chief Steward Menkh, the General Nehesi, the Treasurer Thuti, and the rest of them—must have realized that no mercy would be shown to them. They had not expected the queen to die for many years to come; but now that the disaster had come upon them they must have realized that their only hope lay in civil war. Thutmose III would have to be destroyed, for if they could effect his death there would be no other claimant to the throne except the queen's two daughters, Nofrure and Hetshepsut-Merytre; for if Thutmose III had any children of his own, they were born of mothers who were not royal, and perhaps they were still too young to be dangerous. Senmut's ambitions had carried him to such a height that very possibly he contemplated a *coup* by which he would get rid of the king, marry Nofrure, and seize the throne himself.

The struggle which ensued, however, seems to have been brief. In the following year we read of the king celebrating the anniversary of his accession or coronation on the 21st day of the 1st month of the 3rd season (about April 29th), but we know from three or four other sources that the anniversary of his accession, dated from the death of his father Thutmose II, was on the 4th day of that month (April 12th); and this suggests that he had overcome his enemies and had been crowned for the second time on the latter date. This would mean, perhaps, that the news of the queen's death on April 3rd had reached him at Tharu by about the 10th, and that he had then set out at once with a flying column for Thebes which he could have reached by about the 28th. At that city all was in confusion, and the supporters of Senmut and his group of nobles were fighting with the men who were loyal to the king; but on his approach it may be that the garrison went over to him, Senmut and his party fled, and the king was crowned once more at Karnak on the 29th. At all events, we find that the names and figures of Hetshepsut's fallen supporters were presently erased wherever they were inscribed or represented; and at last, as has already been related, it could be said of Senmut, who once had shown himself on his

monuments embraced like a king by the gods, that his very name "could not be found in the annals."

In after-years the king also obliterated the name of Queen Hetshepsut from many of her monuments, or imposed the name of his father Thutmose II over it, thus converting her figure, which was always represented in male attire, into that of her husband whom she had despised, but whose memory Thutmose III revered with filial piety. For the moment, however, he seems to have shown great respect to the dead queen, and it seems that he officiated at her burial. She was laid to rest in her tomb in the Valley of the Kings, behind her mortuary temple of Dêr el-Bahri; for amongst the fragments found in the sepulchre there was part of a vase inscribed with her name, having after it the words denoting that she was dead when it was written (Davis, *Tomb of Hatshopsitu*, p. 109, 5). A group of objects found some years ago not far from the entrance of this tomb, had probably formed part of her burial equipment or that of her father Thutmose I, who, it will be remembered, she had reinterred in her sepulchre, these having doubtless been hidden here by thieves. Amongst them was the frame of her throne which is now to be seen in the British Museum, and a draughtboard and set of draughtmen, now also in the British Museum. There is a draughtman from another set in the Cairo Museum, and a second draughtboard is in the Louvre. A box belonging to her was found in the hiding-place of the royal mummies at Dêr el-Bahri (Maspero, *Momies de Deir el Bahari*, 584), and a funerary *ushabti*-figure is now at the Hague (*Proceedings Soc. Bib. Arch.*, 1885, 183). What became of her mummy, however, nobody knows.

The respect which Thutmose III showed at first to the late queen was probably merely a concession to public opinion, but it strengthened his position by showing that he was her natural successor, and that the hostility shown to him by Senmut and his friends was an attitude which she herself would not have adopted towards him. Hetshepsut had been much beloved, and Thutmose III evidently did not yet feel his own position to be so secure that he could do without the support given it by an assertion of his pious feelings towards her memory. At Karnak the ruins of a funerary chapel

dedicated to her have been found (Legrain and Naville in *Annales du Musée Guimet*, xxx), and in the sculptures on the walls her funeral is represented. This building may have been made by the queen herself towards the end of her life in anticipation of her death, just as in the tombs of the nobles there are often anticipatory representations of their own funerals; or again it may have been erected at the time of her second jubilee (page 322), for the jubilee ceremonies had an Osirian character, and here the queen is shown in the guise of Osiris, while she is represented as offering two obelisks to Amon, which we know she did at her jubilee (page 288). At any rate, in these sculptured scenes Thutmose III officiates, and is shown conducting an Osirian figure of the queen across the Nile to the western Necropolis, as though at her funeral; and it seems most probable that the temple was erected after her death. In later years he appears to have ordered the demolition of this chapel, for the blocks of stone of which it was built were afterwards incorporated into a pylon erected by one of his successors, as though they had been waste material stacked somewhere near by. This would have been in keeping with the known course of events; for, as I have already said, he soon abandoned his attitude of deference to her great memory, and, recalling the many insults he had endured at her hands, scratched out her name from the records of the Pharaohs.

## CHAPTER VIII

### THE SOLE REIGN OF THUTMOSE III OF THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY

1472-1441 B.C.

**B**Y the time that Thutmose III had firmly established himself as sole Pharaoh of Egypt and had completed the lengthy business of burying the dead queen, June must already have been well advanced, and now it was too late to proceed with his postponed campaign against Syria, expeditions into that country being always carried out, for climatic reasons, between April and July. No doubt, however, he found much to occupy his time in Egypt until the following spring; and, judging by the subsequent exploits of the army, he must have perfected all the arrangements for the campaign and made his preparations with the utmost care.

He was now, as I have already said, a man of 37 or 38 years of age. His height was not more than 5 foot 5 inches; but he was strong and wiry, and, one must suppose, of indefatigable energy. His face was small, but he had a big, intelligent head, though rather a low forehead. Probably he gave the impression of being a bird-like little man, keen, quick-eyed, and alert; for he had a great beak of a nose, upper teeth which projected somewhat—a characteristic of the family—and a not prominent chin. Already he was probably growing bald, for there was not a hair on his head at the time of his death; and his bright little eyes may even now have been set deep in the shadows under his thick eyebrows.

Shortly before the death of Hetshepsut he had begun to build himself a large mortuary temple on the edge of the desert opposite Thebes, at a point not far north of the later and more famous temple known as the Ramesseum. In front of it, that is to say towards the east, lay the fields; and westward, about

three-quarters of a mile away, rose the great cliffs against the face of which stood the queen's superb temple of Dêr el-Bahri behind its grove of trees. The new temple, which was called "Gift of Life," was built in three sections or courts, the first being entered between two great pylons of unbaked bricks, probably encased with stone, though only the brickwork now remains. The second court was built upon a higher level, and was paved with limestone; and from this section a sloping causeway led up to the third court, also paved, where the main building stood, constructed of sandstone and limestone, the walls being decorated with fine reliefs, richly coloured.

The late queen does not seem to have allowed Thutmose III to have a mortuary temple of his own while she was in power; and it is probable that he had had to content himself with an arrangement by which his spirit, after his death, would receive the ministrations provided for it at his father's temple at Medinet Habu, or at some shrine in Hetshepsut's great edifice. But in the last months of her life, the work had been begun, and now that she was dead it seems to have been carried on at a great pace; for the place was already sufficiently far advanced to be used six months after Thutmose III had returned from his first Syrian campaign (page 358). If it were possible to suppose that it could have been built in so short a period, one would say that it had not been begun until after the queen's death, for there is no mention of her name in any of the inscriptions (*Annales*, vii, 121), and in the long list of works left by Thuty (page 330) no reference is made to it, which suggests that it was not then in existence. It is mentioned on the statue of a certain official named Duduie (Legrain, *Cat. Cairo Mus.*, 42122), who says that he was Chief of Works in various temples including this and Dêr el-Bahri; but as he records the name of Thutmose III as his sovereign and does not mention Hetshepsut, and as the king carried out various works at Dêr el-Bahri after Hetshepsut's death, it is to be assumed that he wrote at the time when Thutmose III was reigning alone. There are several other references to the temple, but all date from the years after Hetshepsut's death; and the probability is that though the building was begun in the "Year 22," while she was still alive, the main part of the work was executed after she had passed

away. Yet it was near enough to completion to be in use, as I have just said, in the winter of "Year 24"; and in this fact the student will find some confirmation of my assertion that there was the lapse of a year between the queen's death and the opening of the first Syrian campaign (page 337). The royal tomb in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings may have been begun at the same time as this mortuary temple, but as it was still unfinished at the king's death over 30 years later, one gets the impression that he did not give as much care to the subsequent welfare of his spirit as his predecessors had done, and hence that he may have delayed the preparation of a sepulchre until old age was upon him.

Besides his mortuary temple the king also undertook the erection of a little temple to the north of the great Amon temple at Karnak, dedicated to the god Ptah, the patron deity of Memphis, and to his consort, the goddess Hathor. "My Majesty found this temple built of brick and wooden pillars, and its wooden doorway was beginning to fall into ruins," we are told (*Annales*, III, 107-11); but in front of this primitive structure, which, as we are informed elsewhere, dated "from the time of the ancestors," Queen Hetshepsut had erected two stone gateways (Weigall, *Guide*, 106), and now the king completed the work by substituting a handsome little sandstone shrine for the brick and wooden structure and adding a third gateway. The new temple, as we shall see on page 360, was already in use on the king's return from his first Syrian war, and yet the inscriptions and reliefs show that it was not begun until after the disappearance of Hetshepsut; and here again, therefore, the student will find evidence of the lapse of a year between the queen's death and this Syrian war.

Some time in February, 1471 B.C.—perhaps on February 10th, as I shall suggest on page 358—in the second half of the 23rd year of the reign, getting on for a year after the death of Hetshepsut, the king departed from Thebes with his generals and his bodyguard to join his army, for his deferred expedition into Syria. The campaign had no longer its original object of suppressing some local rising; for now, as has already been stated (page 336), the whole of Syria was in revolt, and the king had to face a united confederacy of Asiatic tribes



and nations which had determined to throw off the Egyptian yoke imposed by Thutmose I some 50 years before. This confederacy was under the leadership of the King of Kadesh, a city on the Orontes, nearly a hundred miles north of Damascus; and the Pharaoh set out with the definite purpose of meeting this king in battle and overthrowing him. If this could be accomplished, the rest would be comparatively easy; for Syria was not naturally a united country, but was divided into small city-states, each having its own prince or king and its local Baal, or god. Of these states, that of Kadesh was the most powerful, and its ruler had managed temporarily to unite the others under his command; but if he could be defeated the confederacy would collapse, and the conquest of the whole country could be effected, city by city. Thutmose, therefore, seems to have planned to march swiftly and directly to Kadesh.

He must have reached the frontier post of Tharu about the beginning of March, and somewhere about the middle of that month the advance began. Crossing the desert which lies between the eastern borders of Lower Egypt and the southern fringe of Palestine, he arrived at the city of Gaza, not far from the seashore, a dozen miles south of Ascalon; and here there seems to have been no resistance offered to him. This was a march of about 160 miles from Tharu, which, as will be remembered (page 335), was his base; and in view of the fact that the next 80 miles after Gaza took 11 days to cover, and having regard to the great difficulty of obtaining water in the desert, the whole army could hardly have been transported to Gaza under a fortnight, and perhaps as much as another fortnight was needed to assemble it for the forward march into hostile country. Here at Gaza, on April 12th (page 336), the Pharaoh celebrated the anniversary of his accession to the throne, and marched northwards next morning, April 13th, "to overthrow that wretched enemy," the King of Kadesh, as the annals tell us. His route led him along the sea coast at the foot of the hills, and 12 days later he reached the city of Yehem, some 80 or 90 miles north of Gaza, somewhere in the neighbourhood of the later Cæsarea, and within sight of the Ridge of Carmel.

Meanwhile, the King of Kadesh, hearing of the invasion

and deciding to give battle, had marched southwards from Kadesh, and had centred his army outside the city of Megiddo, on the far side of the Ridge, on the western edge of the Plain of Esdraelon, about 15 miles south of the later Nazareth; and thus, on April 24th, the two armies were divided by but a few miles of ground on either side of the hills. Here at Yehem the Pharaoh heard the news of his enemy's proximity, and seems to have learnt that all the confederate princes, representing over 100 states, were gathered in Megiddo, while the army of Kadesh was camped outside its walls. It would seem that these princes had come to Megiddo to welcome and to consult the King of Kadesh who had just arrived from the north with his great army, but that they themselves had not brought their troops with them, not having expected the sudden and rapid invasion of the Egyptians.

The Pharaoh at once called a council of war to decide by which route he should cross the Ridge of Carmel. There was one road which branched off to the right, or east, at about this point, passed through a valley in the hills, and then, bending northwards, led to Megiddo by way of the town of Taanach. Another route skirted the western side of the Ridge to the town of Aruna, and then crossed the hills by a very narrow pass and descended right on to Megiddo, which was but 8 miles from Aruna. A third route branched off north-eastwards at Aruna, and crossing the hills past the town of Zefti, led round to Megiddo from the north.

"His Majesty," says the writer of the annals, "called a council with his brave troops, and spoke as follows: 'That wretched enemy, the King of Kadesh, has marched (south) and has reached Megiddo. He is there at this moment. He has collected around him the chiefs of all the states subject to Egypt, as far as the land of Naharin, and including the states of Kharu and Kode. With him are horses and men . . . and he has declared: 'I have decided to give battle against his Majesty at Megiddo.' (Therefore) tell me . . .'" The words are here lost, but the Pharaoh evidently asked his generals if they were willing to make a surprise march on Megiddo by the middle and most direct route across the hills, perilous though it was. Thereupon these officers answered: "'How can it be that we should march by this route which

is narrow and dangerous, when they have come to tell (us) that the enemy is waiting on it, (prepared) to hold the road against (any) number? Will not horse have to travel behind horse, and, likewise, man behind man (in single file)? Must our advance-guard fight while our rear-guard is yet halted over there in Aruna, not able to fight? There are also two other roads: the one road will (serve?) us, for it comes out at Taanach; and the other will take us northwards by way of Zefti, so that we shall come out to the north of Megiddo. Let our victorious lord march by the road he wishes; but let him not oblige us to go by the (most) perilous route."

Thutmose, however, was determined to cross the hills by the direct road from Aruna, and to attempt the capture at one blow of all these assembled chieftains, and he suddenly swore an oath to that effect.

" 'I swear,' " he said, " 'as the Sun-god loves me, as my father Amon favours me, as my nostrils are made vigorous with satisfying life, my Majesty will march by this Aruna road! Let him among you who wishes go by those roads you have mentioned, and let him among you who wishes come with those who follow my Majesty! Shall they think amongst those enemies whom the Sun-god detests: 'Does his Majesty march by another route? (Then) he has begun to be afraid of us! '(for) that is what they will think.' " At this the generals gave in, and declared: " 'We will follow your Majesty, like the servant who is behind his master, in whatever direction your Majesty goes.' Then his Majesty ordered the whole army to march by that route which was narrow and dangerous, and his Majesty swore an oath, declaring: 'None shall march on this road in front of my Majesty'; and (when the time came) he himself did march at the head of his army, showing the way with his own steps: horse behind horse, (and man behind man, they marched, his Majesty) being at the head of his army."

The route being thus chosen, the army moved forward to Aruna, and the camp was pitched there on the 19th day of the 1st month of the 3rd season, that is to say April 27th. At the same time the King of Kadesh on the other side of the hills, thinking that the Egyptians would advance by the southern road viâ Taanach, moved south from the city, accom-



KARNAK: THE TWO PINK  
GRANITE PILLARS BEFORE  
THE SANCTUARY, ERECTED  
BY THUTMOSE III.



THE CHARIOT AND HORSES OF AN EGYPTIAN NOBLEMAN OF THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY AS  
PAINTED ON A WALL OF HIS MORTUARY CHAPEL (NO. 69) AT THEBES.



panied by the Prince of Megiddo, "in numerous battle array, his southern wing being at Taanach (5 miles south of Megiddo), and his northern wing (out) on the plain south of (Megiddo)." Most of the allied princes, however, seem to have remained in the city, perhaps intending to join him later. Then, on the morning of the next day, April 28th, Thutmose led his troops forward into the narrow pass across the Carmel hills, heading direct for Megiddo, 8 miles away. "Now," the annals state, "while the rear of the army of his Majesty was (still) at Aruna, the advance-guard was marching along (the pass) towards the valley of . . . n (on the other side of the hills), and (soon) they spread out across the mouth of this valley. Then (the generals) said to his Majesty: 'His Majesty is marching forward with his conquering army, which has (now) filled the hollow of the valley; (but) let our victorious lord listen to us this time, and let our lord safeguard for us the rear of his army and his people (who are with it, against a rear attack from the south). Let the rear of the army come up to us from behind: then they (also) will (be able to join in the) fight against these foreigners, and we shall not have to be thinking about the (safety of) our rear.' (Therefore) his Majesty halted in the open, and waited there (for the purpose of) safeguarding the rear of his conquering army."

At last the whole army was gathered in the wide mouth of the valley, at a point about 3 or 4 miles west of Megiddo, the city being ahead of them slightly to their left, or north; the King of Kadesh's army being 3 or 4 miles away from them, camped near Taanach on their right, or south; and the defile across the hills being behind them. Then the Pharaoh ordered the advance, "and when the front had reached the (actual) mouth of the (valley-)road, the shadow had (just) turned (i.e. it was noon), and by the time that his Majesty had reached (a point directly) south of Megiddo, on the bank of the river Kina, the seventh hour, by the sun, had turned (i.e. it was 1 p.m.). There the camp of his Majesty was pitched." Here he was just about a mile south of the city, which was also on the near side of the river, to his left; and the enemy army was 3 or 4 miles away on his right or south; and thus, by unexpectedly taking the middle route, he had placed himself between Megiddo, wherein the allied princes were now trapped,

and the camp where the King of Kadesh and his army were bivouacked, thus cutting the latter off from their base, and the former from their defenders. It is to be supposed that the reason why the Pharaoh so carefully chronicled the halt in the valley to allow the rear to come up, and the time of day at which he emerged from the pass, was to explain why he did not give battle that same day, thus taking the enemy by surprise while they were still looking for his approach from the south of Taanach. As it was, however, he could well afford to wait for their attack. They could not get back to Megiddo without breaking through his lines, for he was astride the road, with the river Kina in front of him and the hills behind him.

"Then," we are told, "an order was issued to the whole army, which said: 'Arm yourselves and prepare your weapons, for we shall advance to attack the miserable enemy in the morning.' Thus the king took his rest in the royal tent, the plans of the generals were arranged, and the disposal of their men. The officers went about, saying, 'Be steady! Be steady! Be on the alert! Be on the alert! Guard with your life the tent of the king!' Then it was reported to his Majesty that the position was favourable, and that the troops of the South and North were likewise (well)." So the anxious afternoon and night were passed and one can picture the allied princes assembled in Megiddo, looking down from the walls of this city, wherein they found themselves trapped and defenceless, staring in horror at the lights of the Egyptian camp, and praying that the King of Kadesh and his host, the Prince of Megiddo, who had thus been cut off from them, would be victorious on the morrow, and would scatter the Egyptians and be received back in triumph into the city.

The next day, April 29, is described in the annals as "the 21st day of the 1st month of the 3rd season, being the day of

☉ ☉, the feast of the new (?) moon, corresponding to the (anniversary of the) royal coronation"; and, as I have pointed out on page 26, this was probably the first anniversary of the king's second coronation after the suppression of the rebellion which took place at the death of Queen Hetshepsut. Now, on April 29 of this year, 1471 B.C., the moon was full; and there-

fore we must correct the usual translation, "the feast of the new moon," to "the feast of the full moon." It may be thought, of course, that this disparity is due to my year-date being incorrect; but that this is not the explanation is shown by the fact that in "Year 24," on the 30th day of the 2nd month of the 2nd season, corresponding to February 6, 1470 B.C., a new moon is recorded (page 363), and there *was* a new moon on that date. Thus, since this latter record is correct, the former must be incorrect, and the best way out of the difficulty is to suppose that a full moon, not a new moon, was meant, and, indeed, it is by no means certain that the hieroglyphs shown above cannot actually mean full moon sometimes. (These moon dates, I should add, are given on the authority of Mr. J. K. Fotheringham, of Oxford.)

On April 29, then, the great battle was fought. In the annals we read: "Early in the morning, the order was given to the whole army to move (into position); and his Majesty went forward in a chariot of electrum, armed with his weapons of war. He was like the Hawk-god, the Smiter, the Lord of Strength; like (the god) Mentu of Thebes; and his father, Amon, strengthened his arms. The southern wing of the army of his Majesty was (posted) on a hill south of the river Kina," which about a mile south of Megiddo bends off to the east and flows into the river Kishon, which then runs through the Plain of Esdraelon, "and the northern wing was at the north-west of Megiddo, while his Majesty was in the centre (of the crescent thus formed)." In this formation the Egyptians moved southwards, the centre constituting the striking-head of the army, and the two wings spreading out like a fan to west and east to prevent the enemy getting round to Megiddo which stood impotent behind them, with its gates closed and its ramparts, protected by the skeleton garrison, sheltering the numerous confederate princes who had assembled there. At the same time the enemy forces advanced to give battle, moving slightly eastward, while the Pharaoh, manœuvring for position, worked round to westward; and the clash must have taken place about a couple of miles south of the city, the Egyptians finally charging down-hill in a south-easterly direction.

"Then," says our authority, "his Majesty at the head of his troops routed them, and when they saw that his Majesty



was routing them they fled headlong (round) to Megiddo with terror on their faces, abandoning their horses and their chariots of gold and silver." The Egyptian wings, it seems, seeing the victory, had rushed forward to join in the plunder; and thus the approach to Megiddo from the east side was left open. The enemy, flying eastward over the Plain of Esdraelon, presently found their way barred by the river Kishon which flows through the plain some 3 or 4 miles east of the battleground; and therefore, while the bulk of the panic-stricken soldiers plunged into the river and made good their escape across the plain on the other side, some of the fugitives turned northwards and so came round to Megiddo over the very ground which the Egyptians had occupied earlier in the day. "The people (in the city)," the chronicle goes on, "hailed up the fugitives, pulling them up by their clothing into the city; for the people of this city, having closed (the gates), lowered clothing by which to pull them up into this city. And if only the army of his Majesty had not given its (whole) attention to plundering the goods of the enemy, they would have captured Megiddo at this moment, while the wretched enemy, (the King) of Kadesh, and the wretched enemy, (the Prince) of Megiddo, were being hauled up in haste to get them into the city, for the fear of his Majesty had entered their hearts, their arms were powerless, and the (Pharaoh's) cobra-diadem was triumphant amongst them. Then were captured their horses; and their chariots of gold and silver were taken as spoil. Their champions lay stretched out on the ground like (a catch of) fishes; while the victorious army of his Majesty went about counting their gains. There was captured the tent of that wretched enemy (the King of Kadesh) in which was his son. . . . Then the whole army made festival, giving thanks to Amon for the victory which he had granted to his son on this day, and giving praise to his Majesty and exalting his victories. (Meanwhile) they collected the captures which they had made, consisting of hands (cut from the dead, for numbering purposes), living prisoners, horses, chariots of gold and silver, (armour, weapons, and so forth). But his Majesty on hearing what the army was saying, spoke (to the troops), saying: 'If you had captured the city afterwards, I would have given (even greater thanks to Amon)-Re this day;

because every prince of every state that has rebelled is inside it, and because it is (as good as) the capture of a thousand cities, this capture of Megiddo ! ' ' ' The Pharaoh was justified in his rebuke, for the victory had been very easily obtained. Only 83 enemy dead were afterwards counted on the field, and no more than 340 men were taken prisoners. In fact practically the whole army escaped by headlong flight, and were scattered over the plain, only a certain number taking refuge in the city.

King Thutmose managed at last to collect his excited men and to march them back to Megiddo, which they at once invested, erecting a rough palisade "made of the green wood of all their fruit trees," right round the city. The Pharaoh then took up his position on the eastern side, and "men were stationed to guard the tent of his Majesty, . . . and he (issued orders, saying: 'Let not) one of them come out beyond this palisade, unless he comes out for the purpose of applying at the gate of these fortifications' (i.e. of surrendering)." It seems, however, that the King of Kadesh had slipped out from the city before it was surrounded, and had made good his escape. The siege did not last more than a few days, for the next thing we read is that "the chiefs of this land came out to hand over their property, to do homage to the fame of his Majesty, and to crave breath for their nostrils"; and elsewhere we are told that "these Asiatics who were in the wretched Megiddo came out . . . saying, 'Give us the chance to hand over the fine to your Majesty. . . .'" The Pharaoh graciously "ordered that they should be granted the breath of life," that is to say, that they should be allowed to live; for, as I have had occasion to remark before, the Egyptians were the most humane people of the ancient world. But one of the terms of the armistice seems to have been that each of the chiefs, when he reached his home, should send his son and heir to Egypt to learn the ways of that country. "Then they came bearing their gifts, consisting of silver, gold, lapis lazuli and malachite; and bringing clean grain, wine, cattle large and small, and (supplies) for the army. . . . Then his Majesty appointed the princes anew," that is to say he pardoned them, and reinstated them as vassals.

In after-years he recorded a list of the Syrian cities and

districts which these captured princes ruled: 119 names are recorded, and of these over 80 have been identified (Brugsch, *History*, English edition, I, 392). Biblical students will find them of interest, and the following may be recorded here. (I have added references to the Bible.)

Kishon	Kabseim	Mamre ( <i>Gen.</i> 13. 18)
Dothaim ( <i>2 Kings</i> 6. 13)	Taanach ( <i>1 Kings</i> 4. 12)	Ain
Libnah ( <i>Num.</i> 33. 20)	Jebleam	Rehoboth ( <i>1 Chron.</i> 1. 48)
Kiriath-Sannah	Ain	Hagla'im
Merom ( <i>Joshua</i> 11. 5)	Acco ( <i>Judges</i> 1. 31)	Abil
Damascus ( <i>Gen.</i> 15. 2)	Carmel ( <i>Joshua</i> 15. 55)	Kanath
Adar	Bera	Markaboth
Abila	Anacheroth	Anaia
Hamath ( <i>Num.</i> 13. 21)	Ophra	Gallim ( <i>1 Sam.</i> 25. 44)
Acod	Heshbon ( <i>Num.</i> 21. 25)	Beth
Beirut	Negeb	Daphne
Madon	Shihan	Abil
Sharon ( <i>1 Chron.</i> 5. 16)	Meriamme	Chaphtis
Tub	Joppa ( <i>2 Chron.</i> 2. 16)	Rabbith ( <i>2 Sam.</i> 11. 1)
Batne	Lod	Emeq
Qanah	Ono	Zarthan
Eglon	Apheca ( <i>1 Sam.</i> 4. 1)	Beroth
Ashtaroth ( <i>Deut.</i> 1. 4)	Soccho	Beth-Shean ( <i>1 Sam.</i> 31. 10)
Rapheion	Migdol	Beth-Anoth
Maqedah	Nain ( <i>Luke</i> 7. 11)	Helkath ( <i>2 Sam.</i> 2. 16)
Laish ( <i>Judges</i> 18. 14)	Hadida	Engannim
Hatzor ( <i>Joshua</i> 11. 10)	Har	Gibeah ( <i>Judges</i> 19. 14)
Chennereth	Saphir ( <i>Mic.</i> 1. 11)	Tharala
Adamaim	Gerar ( <i>Gen.</i> 20. 1)	Sepheth
Shunem ( <i>1 Kings</i> 1. 3)	Har-el	Baraq.
Misheal	Rabba	
Achsib ( <i>Joshua</i> 19. 29)	Noman	

From these names it will be seen what a great assembly of princes there had been at Megiddo, and the extent of the Pharaoh's victory will be understood. It is no wonder that he had described its capture as being like the capture of a thousand cities.

The date of the end of the siege may perhaps be arrived at by the following piece of evidence. Towards the end of the great "Coronation Inscription" of Thutmose III at Karnak (Breasted, *Records*; II, § 163), the king says he ordered a great annual (?) sacrifice to be made in honour of Amon, and he issued this order on the 27th day of the 1st month of the 3rd season in a year which has been read as "Year 15," but which is more probably "Year 23," the Egyptian numeral "23," 𓂏𓂏𓂏, having been mistaken for 𓂏𓂏𓂏, "15." The battle of Megiddo, it will be recalled, was fought on the 21st

day of that Egyptian month, and this 27th day may therefore be that of the fall of the city, in celebration of which the king at once gave orders for this feast to be held.

The brevity of the siege, I think, can also be shown in the following manner. After the annals have recorded the fall of Megiddo, and have listed the spoils, they state that "the cultivable land was divided into fields which the inspectors of the Royal Estate measured up, with a view to the reaping of the harvest"; that is to say, the Pharaoh intended to take part or all of the crop as a fine, and therefore measured the ground so that he might know how much to expect. Then follows the sentence: "Statement of the harvest which was brought to his Majesty from the fields of Megiddo: 208,200 fourfold-*hekets* of grain (over 112,000 imperial bushels), apart from that which was cut as forage by the army." This surely means that the harvest was reaped after the city had surrendered, and that apart from the grain reaped by the army while at Megiddo, the above quantity was reaped and sent on to the Pharaoh after the army had left; and, again, it suggests that the amount taken by the troops for their daily needs was not very great, and therefore that their stay was not long. Now harvest-time in this region is in April, or early in May at latest; and, indeed, when the Egyptians arrived at Megiddo on April 28 the reaping of the harvest must already have been overdue. Thus it looks as though the city had surrendered and the Egyptians had marched away by about the end of the first week in May. The siege, in fact, had not lasted more than six days.

In passing I should mention that the German calendar-calculations used by Prof. Breasted and other scholars are manifestly incorrect, for they place the battle of Megiddo at May 15, and by that time the harvest would certainly have been reaped, and the fields bare. In this history of mine, the accurate tables of Prof. Petrie and Mr. Knobel (*Historical Studies*) have been used, and from these the date of the battle is shown to have been April 29, at which time, allowing for a little delay owing to the troubles, the harvest may reasonably be supposed to have been still unreaped.

The list of the captures made at the battle outside Megiddo, and at the fall of the city itself, included 2,041 horses, 191

foals, and 6 stallions; 1,929 head of cattle, 2,000 sheep, and 20,500 white goats. The chief prizes were the two golden chariots, one belonging to the King of Kadesh, and the other to the Prince of Megiddo; and their two suits of bronze armour. There were also 30 chariots belonging to other chieftains, and 892 chariots mainly, I suppose, belonging to the Kadesh army; a number, now lost, of suits of armour belonging to the chieftains, and 200 other suits of armour belonging to officers of the army; and 502 bows. Special mention is made, also, of the 7 poles of valuable wood, wrought with silver, belonging to the tent of the King of Kadesh. In regard to this last item, since this was the only tent captured, it is to be supposed, as I have related above, that the King of Kadesh was alone encamped at Taanach outside Megiddo, and that the other chieftains, except the Prince of Megiddo, were all trapped inside the city, as, indeed, is stated by the Pharaoh, who at a later date declared that "all the allied countries were shut up in one city" and that he "trapped them in that city" (inscription in the temple of Ptah at Karnak). This separation of the King of Kadesh from his confederates could hardly have been intentional; and that is why I have interpreted the account of the operations as showing that Thutmose had, by his daring advance through the narrow pass leading directly to Megiddo, cut the city off from the camp of the Kadesh army.

The curiously small number of prisoners taken—only 340—shows that but few of the defeated enemy managed to get back into Megiddo: the bulk of them must have fled over the Plain of Esdraelon, and must never have been seen again by the Egyptians. Most of the chariots and horses captured were probably abandoned on the banks of the river Kishon, when the charioteers had to swim for it to save their skins; but a certain number, including those of the minor chiefs, were, no doubt, taken at the fall of the city, these not having participated in the battle. The total of 924 chariots would account for 1,848 of the 2,041 horses taken, each chariot being drawn by two horses; and the remaining 193 horses must have been reserves probably found in the stables in the city. The small number of bows taken—502—again indicates the flight of the enemy archers across the plain, and the failure

of the fugitives to get back into the city ; for their bows were light enough for them to carry with them in their flight. The bronze armour of the King of Kadesh and Prince of Megiddo was perhaps discarded by them during the flight after the battle ; but most of the other armour was probably captured inside the city at its surrender. Thus we see how headlong was the rout of the army of Kadesh ; and when it is recalled that only 83 of them were killed, one can picture the panic which speeded their feet when the fierce negro troops from the south of Egypt came charging down the hill at them, like black giants, supported by the disciplined archers and charioteers of the Pharaoh.

Now, it seems that the King of Kadesh, when he had marched south to Megiddo to meet the Egyptians in battle, had established his base on the southern slopes of the Lebanon at the three adjoining towns of Yenoam, Nuges, and Herenkeru, some 75 miles north of Megiddo ; and there he had left his family and his impedimenta. Thutmose must have heard this from the prisoners, and he at once decided to occupy these towns. He therefore marched northwards, say about May 6, and reached his goal a few days later, the three towns at once surrendering ; and, as will presently be seen, the members of the family, and household goods, of the King of Kadesh were there captured. The fugitive king's household are stated to have surrendered owing to the privations they had suffered, which indicates that the harvest from the neighbouring fields was also not yet reaped and stored within these towns. The harvest on the Lebanon is somewhat later than that in the plain ; but one would not be justified in putting it, and therefore in putting the arrival of the Pharaoh, later than the second week of May. The probability is that these towns, not having garnered their crops, and the previous year's supply now being nearly exhausted, were unable to support the defeated king's people, and surrendered at once, somewhere about May 10th.

The list of captures made by the Egyptians on the submission of these towns is as follows :—" 474 (living prisoners-of-war ?), 38 officers, 87 children of that enemy (the King of Kadesh ?), and of the nobles who were with him, 5 of their lords, 1,796 male and female servants, non-combatants, who

surrendered owing to their privations under that enemy ; and 103 (other) men : total 2,503 (persons). Besides these there were (a now lost number) of dishes of costly stone and gold and various (other) vessels ; a large (two-handled) vase of Kharu workmanship, (other) vases and dishes, various drinking-cups, 3 large pots, and 87 knives (the bronze of which) weighed 784 *debens*. There were gold rings found in the possession of the jewellers, and many silver rings, (weighing) 966 *debens* ; a silver statue in beaten work . . . the head being of gold, and the staff, (which the figure was holding, being decorated) with human faces. There were 6 chairs belonging to that enemy (the King of Kadesh), made of ivory, ebony, and carob-wood, wrought with gold ; 6 footstools belonging to them ; 6 large tables of ivory and carob-wood ; a staff of carob-wood, wrought with gold and all costly stones in the fashion of a sceptre, belonging to that enemy ; a statue of that enemy, of ebony wrought with gold, the head of which (was inlaid) with lapis lazuli ; vessels of bronze ; and much of that enemy's clothing."

It is interesting to notice that though the families of the chieftains captured at Megiddo and their household goods were not seized by the Egyptians, these princes having been pardoned, all the personal effects of the King of Kadesh were taken, and his children (and wives, also, as we shall see later) were carried off as hostages, he having been the chief enemy. It is to be supposed that he himself made good his escape, and at length reached his own city of Kadesh, a sadder but a wiser man ; for no mention is made of his capture or his punishment. The Pharaoh probably turned his face homewards by the 11th or 12th of May, and, travelling with his body guard, ahead of his army, he may have been back at Thebes a month later. Before he left, however, he gave orders for the building of a fortress in the Lebanon district, which was to be called "Menkheperre-is-the-Binder-of-the-For-eigners" ; and in later campaigns this no doubt was used as one of his bases.

One of his first acts on his arrival was the sending of a message to his Viceroy of Kush, who, with a large Egyptian force, was stationed up in Lower Nubia or the Sudan, telling him of his victories and ordering him, one may suppose, to

make them known to the troops and to the negroes of the Sudan by inscribing a record in the temple of Buhen, near Wady Halfa. This was done at once, and what now remains of this inscription shows that it was worded in a manner designed to impress the reader with the Pharaoh's godlike might. It is dated in "Year 23," for, as I have explained on page 336, the "Year 24" did not begin until August 11th, and this inscription was probably engraved early in July. First come some extravagant descriptions of the Pharaoh, and then we read: "The king himself led the way for his army, mighty at its head; like a flame of fire was the king who wrought with his sword. He marched forth, none like him, slaying the barbarians, conquering the Syrians, bringing back their princes as living captives, their gold-wrought chariots yoked to their horses. The tribes of the Libyans (also) bow down to the fame of his Majesty, their tribute upon their backs, fawning as do the dogs, that there might be granted to them the breath of life" (MacIver and Woolley, *Buhen*, p. 30).

The arrival of the victorious Pharaoh at Thebes in the second week in June must have been a never-to-be-forgotten event, for this was the first time in the history of the country that a Pharaoh at the head of an Egyptian army had met in a pitched battle on foreign soil the king of a great Asiatic country at the head of an Asiatic army and had utterly routed him. It constituted an international trial of strength, in which the Egyptians had been overwhelmingly victorious; and it must have changed the whole outlook of the nation. "My Majesty," the Pharaoh tells us, "instituted for Amon a Feast of Victory, (which was held) for the first time when my Majesty landed at Thebes from the first victorious expedition in the Year 23, having overthrown the wretched Syrians and widened the frontiers of Egypt." Now let us suppose, for the sake of an argument the purport of which will presently be seen, that the king's arrival home and the celebration of this triumphal feast occurred on June 12th, a date which I have shown above to be the probable time of his return to Thebes. This date would be 61 days (or the 6th part of a calendar year) later than the date of the feast of the king's accession, which was then celebrated on April 12th; and April 12th may have



been, again, 61 days later than the date of the feast held on the king's departure from Thebes, which may well have taken place on the previous February 10th, as I have suggested on page 343. Now, another great feast, that of New Year's Day, was due to occur on August 11th, 61 days after June 12th; and yet another important feast, known as "The Day of Bringing in the God," was due on the 2nd day of the 3rd month of the 1st season (Breasted, *Records*, II, § 551, Note *h*), which corresponded to October 11th, 61 days after the New Year. Therefore, if one more feast were to be instituted on December 11th, 61 days later, the whole calendar year would contain 6 particular feasts, five of them at intervals of 61 days, and the 6th at an interval of 60 days so as to make up the 365 days of the year.

This, apparently, was the arrangement which the Pharaoh now made, for we read that he instituted three "feasts of victory," the first to be held at "the first feast of Amon" (New Year's Day, at this time August 11th); the second to coincide with "The feast of the Day of Bringing in the God," which we know from a later source was held on the 2nd day of the 3rd month of the 1st season (at this time October 11th); and the third to be held in his mortuary temple, "Gift of Life," on a day now lost, but which I have just suggested was December 11th. If these 6 feasts were arranged in this manner, and it will be seen that the arrangement appears to be very probable, then we may fix February 10th as the date of the king's departure from Thebes to lead this expedition which proved so completely victorious, and may place his arrival back at June 12th. But even if this little piece of guesswork cannot be accepted, we may still say, on the evidence of the annals, that those two dates were somewhere about the limits of the king's absence from Thebes; yet in those four months he had changed the whole course of Egyptian history, and now for the first time Egypt was really a world power, and, as such, aroused fears and hatreds in Asia which at length were her undoing.

As a result of the wealth which now poured into Egypt, the altars of Amon were loaded with sacrifices, and the riches of the Karnak temples were multiplied. Moreover, we read that the king at once undertook the building of new shrines

at Karnak, "all the vessels for which were of electrum, and gold, and every costly stone (from the spoil) taken by his Majesty on his first victorious campaign." "My Majesty," says the king, "carried off the wives of that vanquished one (the King of Kadesh), together with his children, and the wives of the chiefs who were there, together with their children. My Majesty placed these women . . ." Here there is an unfortunate lacuna in the inscription, in which the place where they were housed was mentioned, and the names of two or three of the ladies were given; for the sentence then goes on ". . . was the name of another. That which they forfeited was taken to the temple of my father Amon, as (part of) the fine (imposed) on Syria; and the (jewellery?) of the wives of the vanquished King of Kadesh (was confiscated?), my Majesty using this material to ornament the sacred barque for the Festival of the Beginning of the Flood." This festival, by the way, was held in the 1st month of the 3rd season; and as that was the month in which the battle of Megiddo had taken place, the ornamenting of the sacred boat was appropriate.

The next event of which we read is the celebration by the king of the great annual festival of Amon at Luxor, at which the statue of the god was taken by boat from Karnak to Luxor and back. The inscription at Karnak recording this festival is dated in a year which is now obliterated, but which must have been "Year 24," on the 14th day of the 2nd month of the first season, which would correspond to about September 24th, that is to say about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  months after the king's triumphal return. On this day, the Pharaoh tells us, "the majesty of this august god (Amon) went in procession to make his voyage into his southern residence (Luxor); and my Majesty instituted for him a great sacrifice for this day, at the entrance into Luxor, consisting of bread, bull-calves, bulls, birds, incense, and wine, (these being part of the spoil) from the first of the victories which he (Amon) had granted me. In order to fill his storehouse (I presented to him) peasants who would make for him various kinds of linen, and peasants who would perform the work in the fields, so as to gather the harvest to fill the storehouse of my father Amon." Then he goes on to say that he also presented to this god the three towns, Yenoam,

Nuges, and Herenkeru, which had surrendered to him in Syria (page 355), to be part of the sacred estate.

News of the great Egyptian victory had soon penetrated to far-away Assyria, a country which was now just beginning to rise into prominence; and the ruler of that land thought it would be as well to send a present to the Pharaoh. This was received in Egypt early in the "Year 24," a few months after the war, and the items were carefully listed in the annals, Thutmose evidently being rather proud of this tribute to his puissance. The naïve list reads: "The tribute of the Ruler of Assure (Assyria): A large block of genuine lapis lazuli, weighing 20 *debens*; 2 (other) blocks of genuine lapis lazuli: total, 3 (blocks), and (some other) pieces, (making together) 30 *debens*. Total, 50 *debens*. Some fine lapis lazuli from Babylon; and very many Assyrian vases of stone (decorated) in colours." At about the same time there arrived an embassy from one of the pardoned princes of Syria, bringing with them, so the annals record, no less a present than "the daughter of the chief, (complete) with ornaments of gold and lapis lazuli of that country, and 30 slaves belonging to her." We are not told what happened to the poor child, but it is to be supposed that she was provided with a comfortable home somewhere. The same chief sent 65 male and female slaves as a present; while from him and other chieftains the following gifts are recorded: "103 horses; 5 chariots wrought with gold; 5 chariots wrought with electrum; 45 bullocks and calves; 749 bulls; and 5,703 small cattle." Amongst the other items were gold and silver dishes, a golden horn inlaid with lapis lazuli, a bronze corselet inlaid with gold, 823 jars of incense, 1,718 pots of honey-wine, ivory, valuable wood, and many bundles of kindling wood—the last item being very acceptable in a country such as Egypt, where firewood was always rather scarce.

It will be remembered that immediately after the death of Queen Hetshepsut, King Thutmose had begun the erection of a stone temple to the god Ptah at Karnak, in place of the ancient structure of wood and brick which he had found falling into ruins. This new temple must have been more or less finished at the end of "Year 23," that is to say in the months immediately following the Megiddo campaign, for some of the

spoils of that war were presented to it. "I filled his (Ptah's) temple with every good thing," says the king on the dedicatory stela (*Annales*, III, 107), "with oxen, geese, incense, wines, and offerings of all sorts of fruit, at the return of my Majesty from Syria after the first victorious campaign which my father Amon had granted to me when he gave me all the allied countries of Zahi (Syria) shut up in one city (Megiddo) . . . (for) I trapped them in that one city, and built around them an enclosing-wall (in the form) of a thick palisade." He also tells us that he "set up for it doors of new cedar of the best of the (Lebanon-)slopes, mounted with Asiatic copper." "My Majesty made him (Ptah) rich," he says, "and I made him greater than he had been before. His great throne I overlaid with electrum of the best the countries (could supply). All the (temple-)vessels were of gold and silver and every splendid and costly stone. (I supplied) clothing of fine linen, white linen, and perfumes (made) with holy ingredients, that the performance of his ceremonies might be pleasing." Then he goes on to name three ceremonies for which special offerings were provided; and these provide the dates at which the new temple was first used. The first of these was the feast of the goddess Mut-Hathor (a deity compounded of Mut, the consort of Amon, and that aspect of Hathor in which she was consort of Ptah), held on the last day of the year, August 5th, i.e. just before the 5 intercalary days with which the calendar ended. The second was held on the 26th day of the 1st month of the 1st season, that is to say on September 5th; and the third was the above-mentioned festival of Amon's visit to Luxor on September 24th; for during that processional tour the statue of Amon was always taken to visit this temple of Ptah. Thus, it seems that the temple was in use during the summer and early autumn after the king's return from the Syrian war; and the student will see that these facts provide weighty evidence in favour of my interpretation of the dating of that campaign, both as to its length (page 352) and as to its relation to the death of Queen Hetshepsut (page 337). It must have been very shortly after this that the death occurred of Queen Nofrure, the eldest daughter of Queen Hetshepsut, who had been married to Thutmose III for some years (page 325); for, on the above-mentioned stela from the temple of

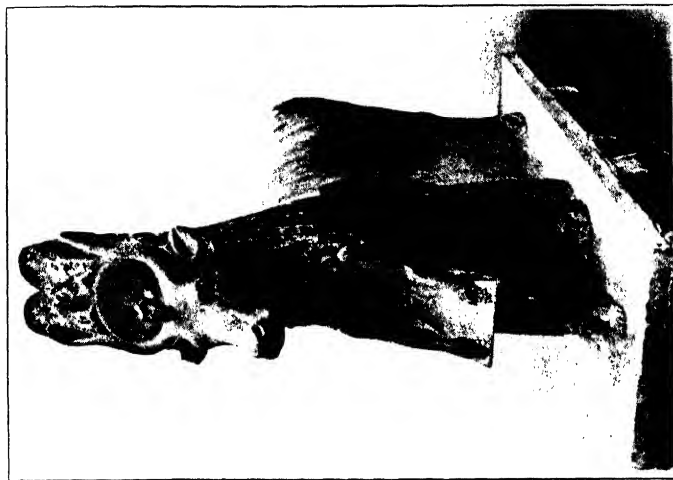
Ptah, her name seems originally to have been written, but it was then erased and the name of another queen, Ahset (p. 398), was put in its place (Legrain, *Répertoire Généalogique*, No. 119). In anticipation it may be said that this Queen Ahset died a year or two later—say about “Year 26”—and thereupon the Pharaoh married Nofrure’s younger sister, Hetshepsut-Meryre, who must have been about 26 years of age. This is a late age for an Egyptian girl to be married, but it is to be supposed that there was no royal prince available who could be her husband, or else that she had already been married to some other man.

It is possible that Queen Nofrure was buried in a tomb far away in the desert near the first tomb made by her mother Queen Hetshepsut (page 294), for Carter observed the cartouche of Nofrure written on a rock in that vicinity. The sepulchre may one day be found.

I must mention, in passing, the death of that old warrior, Ahmose Pennekheb, of whom we have read in the earlier part of the dynasty (pages 251 and 259), for by that event an interesting link with the reign of King Ahmose was severed. Ahmose Pennekheb, as a youth of 16, took part in the campaign in Syria led by King Ahmose in the 21st year of his reign, 1556 B.C.; and in his biographical inscription he tells us that he served under that Pharaoh and his successors Amenhotpe I, Thutmose I, and Thutmose II, and lived on until the reign of Thutmose III. “I have attained a good old age,” he says, “having passed a life of royal favour, and having been held in honour by their Majesties, and there having been love of me at Court.” He then adds, “The Divine Consort, the Great King’s Wife, Maetkere, deceased, repeated honours to me. I reared her eldest daughter, the Royal Daughter Nofrure, deceased, while she was a child at the breast. . . .” The remainder of the inscription is destroyed. Thus it is seen that he lived on till after the death of Maetkere (Hetshepsut); and, as Nofrure appears to have died in “Year 24,” just when the inscription on the stela in the temple of Ptah was being written, 1470 B.C., he must have lived beyond that date, dying, one may suppose, very shortly afterwards, at the great age of 102 years. This information which he gives us is historically important for four



THE TOMB OF THUTMOSE III OF THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY IN THE VALLEY OF THE TOMBS OF THE KINGS. THE TOMB IS ON THE LEFT SIDE AT THE TOP OF THE MODERN FLIGHT OF STEPS.  
See page 343.



THE SACRED COW OF THE GODDESS HATHOR, WITH A FIGURE OF THUTMOSE III OF THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY IN FRONT OF IT, FOUND IN A SHRINE AT DER EL-BAHRI.  
See page 342.



main reasons. Firstly, it shows us that two years after Hetshepsut's death she was not referred to as having been a reigning sovereign, and that although the Pharaonic name Maetkere, which she took when she assumed control of the government, stuck to her, she was now again spoken of simply as Divine Consort and widow of Thutmose II, and not as a Pharaoh. Secondly, it shows that Thutmose III did not at once obliterate Hetshepsut's name from the records as soon as she was dead (page 339), but that some little time passed before he began that persecution of her memory which will presently be related (page 390). Thirdly, it tells us that Ahmose Pennekheb had been a sort of foster-father and guardian of the little Princess Nofrure (page 324) before she was placed in the care of Senmut (page 326), and that she was already dead at the time when he wrote his biographical inscription. And, lastly, it shows us that the Syrian campaign of King Ahmose (page 251) must have occurred at the end of his reign and not at its beginning, as has generally been thought, because otherwise Ahmose Pennekheb would have been older when he died than probability allows us to suppose.

A large granite stela, found at Karnak and now in the Cairo Museum (Mariette, *Karnak*, 12) tells us that in the following February the Pharaoh performed the foundation ceremonies for a new temple at Karnak, which was to be erected to the east of the existing building. The date of this ceremony is given as "Year 24th, 30th day of the 2nd month of the 2nd season," which then corresponded to February 6th, 1470 B.C. Now, it can be calculated that on that day in that year there was a new moon (Fotheringham); and, sure enough, this inscription tells us that on this date the "feast of the New Moon" was held, which seems to prove the absolute correctness of my chronology. The great temple which was thus begun still stands (Weigall, *Guide*, 103). The main hall is a spacious building, the roof of which is supported by two rows of ten columns, having curious capitals which actually represent the knobs of tent-poles, so that the hall is really a copy in stone of a great marquee. To carry out this idea further, a low-roofed gallery passed round the sides of the hall, corresponding to the raised flaps at the sides of a tent.



Perhaps this unique design was chosen in order to emphasize the warlike character of the king, and to indicate that his idea of Amon was rather that of a war-god, at home in the camp and in the campaigning-tent, rather than in a house or shrine. At the sides and back of this hall numerous chambers were erected; and in front of it, that is to say on its west side, an open court separated it from the earlier temple.

A few days later the King left Thebes, sailing down stream to Lower Egypt, where he joined his army on the eastern frontier, and prepared to lead them once more into Syria, with the object of making a tour of that country by way of a demonstration in force, so as to check any tendency there might be to revolt against him again, for he must have been conscious of the flying nature of his last campaign. The annals do not give us details of this second expedition, but a broken sentence seems to say that "(tribute was brought to him) at every place on his Majesty's tour where the tent was pitched." This is dated in "Year 24," and we are told that the King of Assyria again sent in a present, consisting of some horses, a skin to be used as the covering for the floor (?) of a chariot, and 190 wagon-loads of valuable wood. On this tour the Pharaoh seems to have been so delighted by the beautiful Syrian flowers which he saw on all sides, that he made a great collection of them, with the idea of planting them in his own country. They were successfully transplanted by his agents probably in the following autumn, which would be the beginning of "Year 25"; and an elaborate illustrated catalogue was made of them. Some years later, when the new temple at Karnak was built, a copy of this catalogue was chiselled on to the stone wall of one of the chambers; and there to this day we may see it, and may recognize and admire the many flowers with which the gardens of the temple were thus filled. The inscription, dated in "Year 25," describes them as "the flowers which his Majesty found in Syria." Birds and animals seem also to have been collected and transported to Thebes, for this mural catalogue shows some of these also.

The only other mention of the "Year 25," is on a tablet cut on the rocks at Sarbût el-Khadem in Sinai (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 29a), where the Chief Treasurer, Rey, records the fact that he brought an expedition here in this year to

obtain malachite. The later numbering of the Pharaoh's expeditions to Syria shows that two more "demonstrations in force" were made through that country during these early years of the reign, probably in the spring and early summer of "Year 25," 1469 B.C., and "Year 26," 1468 B.C.; but evidently there was no fighting, and nothing worth recording occurred, for they are not mentioned in the annals. Another tablet at Sarbût el-Khadem is dated in "Year 27"; and "Year 28" is the date of an inscription in the important tomb (No. 82) belonging to a certain Amenemhet, who had apparently made a fortune as the steward and chief secretary of the Prime Minister (at this time a nobleman named User, son of a former Prime Minister, Ahmose), and had prepared himself this fine sepulchre in the Theban Necropolis (Davies and Gardiner, *Tomb of Amenemhet*, 70). In this inscription he says: "I was a servant who served his master; a capable man, who did what he said. The Prime Minister placed his complete estate under my authority, and every seal of his was under my control. (The) Prime Minister did that which was praised by the king every day. He caused Right to go up to its lord, which his Majesty loves at all times. . . . He did that which all the gods love in performing the ordinances and carrying out the regulations . . . and in doing for them the Right that they love. He did what the upper and lower classes of the people love, looking after the poor as well as the rich, protecting the widow who had no relatives, sweetening the spirits of the aged and old, setting the children in the positions held by their fathers, and making every one happy. (Now), the Prime Minister made many jewels for the Palace, of silver and gold, lapis lazuli, turquoise, and all manner of precious stones; vessels of silver and gold, copper and bronze; and furniture of ivory, ebony, and acacia: and it was I who did the work. He made many statues for the Palace: and it was I who did the work. He made many statues, also, for himself, to be placed in the sanctuaries of the gods: and it was I who did the work. He made for himself a very large and beautiful garden on the west of the southern city, planted with all manner of beautiful trees, and blooming with every kind of fruit-tree: and it was I who did the work. He made for himself a noble mansion, its walls of brick, and its doorways

of stone : and it was I who did the work." There were many more lines of this inscription, presumably with a continued repetition of the same rather caustic burden ; but they are now lost. I cannot refrain, however, from quoting the words which are written in another part of the tomb, and are supposed to be addressed to his spirit ; for they give us a good idea of the Egyptian conception of the life after death. They read : " O Amenemhet !—may your memory endure within your house, your statues within their shrines, your soul living, your body secure in your tomb in the Necropolis, and your name set permanently in the mouths of your children for ever ! O Amenemhet !—the desert stretches out her arms to you. The land of the West rejoices at your goodness, and bows to you (in welcome) after these years of your revered old age ; and she assigns to you a place among her followers who live for ever (with her). O Amenemhet !—may you enter into, and go out from, the Western hills (as you wish) ; may you stride through the gates of the Underworld to worship the Sun-god when he rises from the mountains, and to bow to him when he goes down behind the horizon ! May you receive food-offerings and be satisfied with the repasts at the table of (Osiris) Lord of Eternity ! May you saunter as you will on the banks of your garden-lake ; may your heart take pleasure in your flower-beds ; may you refresh yourself under your trees ; and may your thirst be quenched with water from the well which you made, for ever and for ever ! May you cleave the hills of the Necropolis (and emerge) to see your house (in the land) of the living, and hear the sound of singing and music in your hall that is on this earth, and be a guardian-spirit to your children for ever more ! "

In the spring of 1465 B.C., that is to say in the third season of the " Year 29," the Pharaoh marched once more into Syria to suppress a local rebellion which had broken out at an unidentified place on the Phœnician sea-coast, of which all that remains of the name is *Ue* . . . . He speaks of this expedition as his " fifth campaign," and, without preliminaries, states that he captured this town, whereat the army rejoiced and acclaimed him. The place was evidently not far from Tunip, for it had been defended by troops sent by the prince of that state, Tunip being an important city at the back

of the Lebanon, 50 miles inland from the sea, 200 miles north of Megiddo, and nearly 150 miles further north than this Pharaoh had ever been before ; but as the whole country to within a few miles of his objective was friendly, or at any rate submissive, the Pharaoh's long march does not seem to have been eventful. The list of the captures made reads as follows : " List of the captures taken from this city and from the troops of that enemy of Tunip (who defended it) : the Prince of the city, and 329 soldiers ; 100 *debens* of silver ; 100 *debens* of gold ; lapis lazuli and malachite ; and vessels of bronze and copper." After the surrender, the annals tell us, " his Majesty went to the (local) storehouse of offerings, and made a sacrifice to Amon and Horakhte, consisting of oxen, calves, and birds." Then, we are told, the ships which were in the harbour were commandeered, filled with the spoils ; and apparently despatched to Egypt, " after which his Majesty proceeded southwards towards Egypt," presumably by land. But now, a few miles to the south, the rich city of Arvad very rashly shut its gates against him, perhaps thinking that it could bar his way and hold him there until help came from Tunip. The Egyptians, therefore, had to lay siege to the place, and, as at Megiddo, they erected a palisade around it, made of trees which they cut down. Around the town " the gardens were filled with fruit, and wine was found standing in the presses, and flowed as water, (while) the corn (growing) on the hillslopes was more plentiful than the sand of the sea-shore, (so that) the army were overwhelmed with the quantities assigned to them." At length the city surrendered on terms, for the list of captures records no prisoners, but only a fine consisting of " 51 male and female slaves ; 30 horses ; 10 silver dishes ; incense ; oil ; 470 jars of honey ; 6,428 jars of wine ; copper and lead ; lapis lazuli and turquoise ; 616 large cattle ; 3,636 small cattle (or sheep ?) ; loaves of bread ; grain and flour ; and all the good fruit of this country." The record ends with the sentence : " The army of his Majesty was gorged and anointed with oil every day as at a feast in Egypt " ; and we may perhaps suppose that the cattle, sheep, wine, honey, bread, grain, and fruit, listed above, were the supplies provided at the city's expense for the enforced entertainment of the merry Egyptian soldiers.

In the spring of the following year, 1464 B.C., that is to say the "Year 30," the Pharaoh set out on his sixth expedition, his objective this time being, one may suppose, the capture of Tunip, which, in the previous campaign, had helped his enemies; but he also wished to take the city of Kadesh (the modern Tell Nebi-Mindoh), where, apparently, the king who had fled from him at Megiddo was still defiant. Kadesh, like Tunip, was situated behind the Lebanon, but 50 miles or more further south, being about 150 miles north of Megiddo. It stood on the west bank of the Orontes, near the Lake of Homs, and dominated the valley of that river. The record of its capture is extremely brief in the annals. We merely read that the king came to Syria on his sixth expedition, in the "Year 30," that "he arrived at Kadesh, conquered it, cut down its trees and harvested its grain." The capture of this city was a great military triumph, for the place was well situated for defence. It stood on raised ground in the fork of two rivers—the Orontes on its east and an important tributary stream on its west, the two meeting just to the north; while to the south a canal had been cut, joining these two rivers, so that the city and the strip of cultivated ground outside its walls formed an island. There was, too, a moat running right round the city at the foot of the walls. The siege, therefore, was probably protracted, and it seems evident that the Egyptian king was obliged for this reason to abandon his proposed attack on Tunip. Fortunately some incidents of the siege are recorded in a biographical inscription in the Theban tomb of one of the Pharaoh's generals, named Amenemheb (No. 85, Weigall, *Guide*, 126; Breasted, *Records*, II, 574). But Amenemheb did not dictate his biographical notes till at least 4 or 5 years after the death of Thutmose III, and therefore was speaking of events which had occurred as much as 25 years before. Thus he has not bothered about their sequence, and we have to adjust his brief notes to those in the annals as best we can. This old soldier tells us that he was the faithful servant of King Thutmose: "I followed my lord," he says, "on his campaigns in the northern countries and the southern, (for) he desired that I should be the companion of his feet while he was on the battlefield." He relates a curious incident which occurred during this siege of Kadesh.

The defenders of the city were apparently making a sortie, and wished to disorganize the body of Egyptian charioteers who were preparing to charge them; and for this purpose a mare was driven out of the city towards them, in the hope of exciting the stallions and causing confusion in the ranks of the chariots. Amenemheb briefly tells the story thus: "The King of Kadesh sent out a mare in front of the army, in order (to disorganize) them by entering among the ranks. But I chased after her on foot, and with my sword pierced her to the heart. I (then) cut off her tail and laid it before the king, while there was thanks to God (on all sides) for it. It gave (me such) pleasure that it filled my body with happiness and thrilled my limbs." He then speaks of the first assault on the outer defences. "His Majesty sent out every gallant man of his army to make a breach for the first time in the wall which Kadesh had built; and I was the one who pierced it, being the first of all the brave men (to effect it), no other in front of me having (managed) to do it. I went out, and brought back two men, lords, as living prisoners. Again my lord rewarded me because of it." At last the city was taken by assault, and Amenemheb tells us how he witnessed the king's personal bravery on that occasion. Then, "he captured Kadesh, and I was not absent from the place where he was. I took two men, (again) lords, as prisoners, and set them before the king, who, in the presence of the whole people, gave me gold because of my bravery: a lion-ornament, 2 necklaces, 2 (pendants in the form of) flies, and 2 bracelets, (all) of the finest gold." A very remarkable point should be noticed, namely that the Pharaoh pardoned his old enemy, the King of Kadesh; for in the mortuary chapel of Menkheperresonb at Thebes that personage is represented as coming unbound to the king, bringing a present of a vase and an ornamented dagger.

By this time the summer must have been far advanced, and it seems that the Pharaoh then marched homewards down the valley of the river Eleutheros to its mouth, where Simyra stood on the sea-coast. Thence he went to Arvad again, and at the latter place he exacted punishment for some further offence it had committed against him. It will be recalled that at the fall of Megiddo he had obliged the Syrian princes

to send their sons to Egypt, to be trained, apparently, in Egyptian methods of government, which at that time were far in advance of those obtaining in other countries; and in the annals of this "Year 30" we read that a further batch of young gentlemen—the exact number is lost—were now sent to Egypt, presumably from the cities around Kadesh and along the sea-coast, to join those from other parts of Syria who were already living on the Nile. The first batch had probably consisted of 50 or 60 youths, for Thutmose caused a list of Syrian cities to be inscribed upon a wall at Karnak, and the accompanying inscription says: "A list of the states of Syria whose (princes) his Majesty trapped in the city of Megiddo, the wretched, and whose children his Majesty brought as living prisoners-of-war to the town of Suhenemopet (meaning "The Fortress in Thebes") after his first victorious campaign." This list consists of the names of 119 towns, but we may suppose that some of the princes assembled at Megiddo had represented two or three towns. In the annals of "Year 30," we read: "The children of the princes and their brothers were taken to live in fortresses in Egypt; and whenever one of these princes died his Majesty would cause his son to stand in his place." This means that the young men, though technically prisoners, and though living in fortresses, were treated as princes, and, whenever the death of a former ruler caused a vacancy, the heir was sent back from Egypt to take up the government of his little state. In this manner the Pharaoh had maintained his overlordship of the main part of Syria ever since the fall of Megiddo, and now he was applying the same method to the rest of the country. In the annals, after the mention of the second batch of these hostages, we find the words: "181 slaves, male and female, 188 horses, and 40 chariots wrought with gold and silver and paint"; and it may be that these were not separate tribute, but came in the train of the young men.

In the following spring, 1463 B.C., that is to say in "Year 31," the Pharaoh organized a seventh expedition into Syria; but now it seems that his tactics were changed. It will be remembered that on his fifth campaign, he had commandeered the ships of the sea-port which had surrendered to him, and it may be that in both that campaign and the next he had

himself returned to Egypt by sea. It would have been hardly possible yet to transport the whole army in this manner to northern Syria, and it is not to be supposed that the large force required for the Kadesh campaign of "Year 30" could have been sent across by boat. But in this present year he proposed only to attack a defiant city called Ullaza, on the sea-coast (in the vicinity of Simyra), which was in league with the Prince of Tunip; and for this purpose it seems that he thought a large enough force could be accommodated in the ships at his disposal, and he therefore decided to make the journey by sea. The annals record the campaign in the following words:—"List of that which his Majesty captured in this year, on the 3rd day of the 1st month of the 3rd season (April 9th) in the Year 31, being the booty taken (on that day) from the city of Ullaza which is on the coast of Theren: 490 living prisoners-of-war; 3 of the officers (?) of the son of that enemy (the Prince) of Tunip; the chief of . . ., who was there. Total, 494 persons. (Also) 26 horses and the 13 chariots (to which they were harnessed), and their equipment of all weapons of war. Truly, his Majesty captured this city in a short hour, and all its property was his spoil." After this victory the king seems to have remained on the spot for two or three weeks, perhaps till the end of April, for we next read that "the princes of Syria came to pay homage to his Majesty," and brought the following gifts: "(A now lost number of) slaves, male and female; 72 (vases?) of this country; 761 *debens* of silver; 19 chariots wrought with silver (with) their equipment of weapons of war; 104 oxen and bullocks and 172 calves and cows, totalling 276; 4,622 small cattle (sheep?); 40 blocks of native copper; lead; 41 golden bracelets; together with all their (other produce) and all the fine and fragrant woods of this country." After this the Egyptian fleet sailed homewards, touching at various ports; and the annals continue: "Every harbour at which his Majesty arrived was supplied (ready for us) with assorted loaves of bread, oil, incense, wine, honey, fruit . . . abundant beyond everything, beyond the (previous) experience of his Majesty's army. This is no fiction, (for) they are recorded in the daily register of the royal household, though the list of them is not given in this inscription, in order not to multiply



words by furnishing the details in this place. . . ." The extent of the Syrian harvest, reaped at the end of April, was then reported to the Pharaoh, we are told, and the amount to be taken in taxes was assessed. Then, "when his Majesty arrived back in Egypt, a mission from the Genebtu (a Nubian tribe) arrived, bringing their tribute, consisting of myrrh and incense; 6 (a word now lost), with 10 negroes as attendants; 113 oxen and calves, and 230 bulls, totalling 343; besides ships laden with ivory, ebony, panther-skins, and (other) products. (Another mission from Wawat, or Lower Nubia, brought :) 31 oxen and calves and 61 bulls, totalling 92; besides ships laden with all the products of that country, and the harvest of Wawat also."

The "Year 31" ended on August 8th (the calendar having lost two days since the beginning of the king's sole reign), and this marked the end of a period of 30 complete regnal and calendar years, as dated from the first New Year's Day after the king's accession. Therefore, with the New Year's Day of "Year 32" (August 9th, 1462 B.C.), the jubilee year began; and this being, thus, a holy year, no campaign was organized for the following spring. At El-Bersheh there was a record of a jubilee celebration dated in a year which has been read "33" (Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, II, 47); but this is assuredly the modern copyist's mistake for "32," though, as the monument is now destroyed, the point must remain unverified. During the previous two or three years King Thutmose had carried out some extensive operations on a temple at Karnak which had been begun by Queen Hetshepsut, and which was situated to the south of the main temple, connecting it with the sacred lake (Weigall, *Guide*, 109). He had built a pair of great pylons (called Pylon vii in Baedeker) in front of this temple; and now, in celebration of his jubilee, he placed in front of these pylons two huge obelisks of granite, which had been quarried at Aswân probably during the "Year 31." Both of these have since fallen, but fragments of them have been found recently (Engelbach, *Problem of the Obelisks*, 107). Curiously enough, the architect by whom the work was carried out can be identified: he was a man named Puimre, who had done some building at the temple of Mut at Karnak under Hetshepsut, and who had been fortunate enough to

avoid being involved in the disaster which had overtaken so many other of the queen's leading men. He constructed a very fine tomb for himself in the Theban Necropolis (No. 39), and in one of the scenes represented on the walls he is shown inspecting these two obelisks.

Perhaps also on the occasion of this first jubilee the Pharaoh set up the obelisk at the temple of On (Heliopolis), near the modern Cairo, of which fragments have been found (Petrie, *Heliopolis, etc.*; Engelbach, *Problem of the Obelisks*, III). From Elephantine comes an important fragment of a calendar (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 43), in which there is the statement that the heliacal rising of Sirius took place on the 28th day of the 3rd month of the 3rd season; but though the fragment is certainly of the reign of Thutmose III (Breasted, *Records*, II, p. 177, Note a) the regnal year is unfortunately missing. However, Knobel's Tables show us that Sirius rose on that day in 1462 B.C., the year of this Jubilee; and thus this calendar was connected with the jubilee celebrations.

During the enforced military inactivity of this sacred year Thutmose seems to have developed his plans for a great Asiatic campaign in the following year; and when August came round once more, and "Year 33" began, he seems to have pushed forward the organization of this enterprise with a will, and early in the following spring, 1461 B.C., he marched his army into Syria. He had now collected a great fleet of ships, and though it is certain that he employed these on the campaign, and probably travelled himself by sea to his base on the coast of northern Syria, I think it is more likely that the main army went by land to some rendezvous on the slopes of the Lebanon, thus maintaining Egyptian prestige in the southern part of that country by this show of force. From here the army marched, one may suppose, to the now submissive city of Kadesh, and then on down the Orontes to a point some 30 miles north of Kadesh where the river takes a bend towards the sea. This point was about 100 miles, as the crow flies, south-west of the nearest reach of the Euphrates in the land of Naharin; and the Pharaoh now seems to have marched his army eastwards along the most direct route to that distant river. This was a dangerous enterprise, for not only was he heading towards a country which had not seen

an Egyptian army since the days of the flying expedition made thither by Thutmose I (page 272), but he was also leaving the hostile city of Tunip unconquered no more than 30 or 40 miles on his left or north, and thus, in returning, he might have to cut his way through an enemy force astride his road. But he was fired with an ambition to beat the record of his grandfather, who had placed a triumphal tablet on the west or near side of the Euphrates; and he relied on the reputation of his unconquered army to keep Tunip at a respectful distance.

Having crossed this intervening 100 miles, he arrived at the Euphrates, north of the city of Niy, and marched northwards along its western bank, that is to say on the near side, towards the city of Carchemish which stood some 50 miles to the north as the crow flies; and presently he came upon the tablet which Thutmose I had set up. By its side he caused a new tablet to be made; but in order to outdo his grandfather's exploit, he now crossed the river with some of his men, and left another tablet on its eastern bank, that side of the river being in the land of Mitanni. The annals are annoyingly brief in their account of this great performance. They say simply: "In the Year 33 his Majesty was in Syria, and he arrived at . . ." (Here there is a break.) "He set up a tablet on the east side of this river, and he set up another (on the west bank) beside the tablet of his (grand)father, King Oekheperkere (Thutmose I)." The general Amenemheb adds a little to this account, for he says: "I fought on that campaign in the territory of Carchemish, and took (a lost number) as living prisoners (in a fight on the far side of the river). I then crossed (back) over this river of Naharin with these prisoners in my charge, and set them before my lord, and he rewarded me with a great reward." This crossing of the river is also recorded on the king's obelisk now at Constantinople, whereon it is said: "He crossed the great bend (of the river) of Naharin at the head of his army."

From this point, the annals tell us, "his Majesty went north, capturing the towns and destroying the settlements of that enemy (the king) of wretched Naharin." Presently he encountered a hostile force, and "pursued them for an *iter* of sailing (i.e. over a mile by river); but not one looked behind him: they fled, indeed, like a flock of mountain goats, and their

horses fled (with them)." The captures made in this country were "3 princes; their 30 wives, and 80 male (relatives); and 606 male and female slaves with their children, they being those who surrendered with their wives." The Pharaoh, however, did not feel himself strong enough to push on to Carchemish; and he therefore contented himself with harvesting the crops round about him, and then turned and marched southwards along the Euphrates to the city of Niy, which seems to have opened its gates to him. The annals say: "his Majesty arrived at the city of Niy, going southward on his return, having set up his tablet in Naharin, (by which) he extended the boundaries of Egypt." It seems, in fact, that he decided to regard the point at which he had erected his tablet as the frontier of his dominions; and, leaving Carchemish severely alone, he now settled down at Niy to receive the submission of the local princes. Soon they came in with presents, which are listed as follows: "513 male and female slaves; 260 horses; 45 *debens* of gold; silver vessels of Syrian workmanship; (a lost number of) chariots (fitted) with all their weapons of war; 28 oxen, calves, and bullocks; 564 bulls; 5,323 small cattle (sheep?); 828 jars of incense; sweet oil and green oil; and every good thing of this country, and fruit in quantities." At this point he was only a few hundred miles from Shinar (Babylon), which was also on the Euphrates, but away to the south-east; and presently an embassy arrived from the king of that country bringing him a gift of a piece of lapis lazuli carved into the form of a ram's head, and several other pieces of the same costly stone. The King of the Hittites also sent an embassy with presents, for here at Niy the Pharaoh was not much more than 100 miles south of the frontiers of that important nation, which was the northern neighbour of Naharin. This present consisted of "8 rings of silver weighing 401 *debens*; a great block of white precious stone; and (some) wood."

While at Niy a great elephant-hunt was organized, which is curiously interesting as showing that elephants were still to be found on the banks of the Euphrates in the fifteenth century B.C.; and Amenemheb relates an exciting adventure which befel the Pharaoh. A herd of 120 head was sighted, standing in the river; and by hiding behind the rocks the

hunters managed to get to close quarters. But, suddenly, "the largest which was among them made an attack upon his Majesty." Thereupon, says Amenemheb, "while I stood in the water between two rocks, I struck off its trunk while it was alive and in front of his Majesty. Then my lord rewarded me with gold, and gave me three changes of clothing," apparently in place of the garments ruined in the encounter. It should be added, however, that Amenemheb seems to have been given to telling rather tall stories, for he once had an adventure with a female hyæna which attacked him in the desert when he was armed only with a stick; and in recording the encounter pictorially on a wall of his tomb, he made the artist represent the hyæna as a creature about the size of a horse, with a glaring eye and gnashing teeth.

At length Thutmose marched his army back to the coast, presumably by way of Kadesh; and it seems that he was not molested by the men of Tunip, which city he left to be dealt with another year. In the Lebanon and on the coast he made an arrangement with the local princes to supply the harbours with provisions and materials for his army and fleet each year, this to be regarded as part of their tax. The annals tell us that "these harbours, in accordance with their contract for each year, were stocked with everything according to their needs, and with the (supplies sent as) tax by the Lebanon in accordance with the annual contract (made) with the princes of the Lebanon." And in the following year we read that "all the harbours were stocked with every good thing of that which his Majesty received (in taxes) from Syria, consisting of ships of cedar laden with poles, masts, and great beams"; and these ships are described as being made by the Keftiu (Phœnicians), the people of Byblos, and those of Sektu. Thus he made his plans for the future, being determined to come each year by sea to Syria, and to march inland against any rebellious city, at the same time receiving the homage of the princes, and collecting the taxes. In Egypt, meanwhile, the sons of these princes were being trained for their future office; and the Pharaoh no doubt saw a vision of a United Syria, finally forming a permanent part of the Egyptian empire.

Meanwhile he had<sup>s</sup> sent another expedition to the land

of Pount (Somaliland) which had not seen Egyptian soldiers for five-and-twenty years; and now on his return to Egypt this expedition arrived back, bringing 1,685 *hekets* (over 200 bushels) of dried myrrh, 155 *debens* of gold, and the usual supplies of ivory, ebony, panther-skins, and live-stock.

A record is given, too, of the arrival of the taxes of Lower Nubia, consisting of vessels laden with all the produce of that country, and 104 head of cattle. We know nothing of the king's doings during the winter, but in the spring he was off once more to Syria. It was now "Year 34," 1460 B.C.; and this was the king's ninth expedition; but little fighting took place. Three towns, however, one of them in the neighbourhood of Nuges on the southern slopes of the Lebanon, seem to have rebelled or refused to pay their taxes; but these "surrendered fully to his majesty in fear," as the annals say, and from them he took "90 persons who surrendered; (a lost number of) their wives and children; 40 horses; 15 chariots wrought with silver and gold; golden vessels and gold in rings (weighing) 50 *debens*; silver vessels and rings (weighing) 153 *debens*; (an unknown quantity of) copper; 40 white goats; 50 small goats; 70 donkeys; a quantity of wood; many chairs of black wood and carob wood; and 6 tent-poles wrought with bronze and set with costly stones." Evidently that was the end of another important chieftain, whose state-tent had been captured in the field, and whose whole family had surrendered, with their treasure, their furniture, and their horses, donkeys, and cattle. Next we read of the tribute brought by the loyal princes of Syria, consisting of the usual items: slaves, chariots, horses, cattle, wine and provisions; gold, silver, copper, and precious stones; and quantities of wood. And now the King of the island of Isy (Cyprus), 100 miles across the sea from the Syrian coast, sent in his gifts: 108 blocks of pure copper (weighing) 2,040 *debens*; a considerable amount of lead; some lapis lazuli; a tusk of ivory; and two walking-sticks. The Pharaoh then returned to Egypt, where he found awaiting him the tribute of Kush (the Sudan), consisting of 300 *debens* of gold; the usual slaves, cattle, grain, ivory, ebony, and so forth; and also the daughter of the negro prince of Irem with her

three attendants. Lower Nubia, also, sent in its tribute, which included 254 *debens* of gold.

On arriving on the Syrian coast in the following spring, now "Year 35," 1459 B.C., on his tenth expedition, the Pharaoh learnt that the King of Naharin, in whose city of Niy he had stayed two years ago, had revolted; and he was obliged, therefore, to march across from the Orontes towards the Euphrates again to suppress the rebellion, and the great battle of the campaign took place at an unidentified city called Araina. It has generally been thought that this city lay to the north of Tunip, but as Tunip was still unconquered this seems to be unlikely. At this time, in fact, the northern limit of Egyptian dominion is probably to be represented by a line drawn from a point on the coast a short distance north of Arvad, and passing just south of Tunip and Aleppo to a point on the Euphrates south of Carchemish; and Araina is therefore more likely to have been situated on the road from Kadesh to Niy, perhaps not very far south or south-east of Aleppo, in a district which may have been the "land of Tikhsi" (see below) mentioned by Amenemheb. The annals of this campaign read as follows: "In the Year 35, his Majesty was in Syria on his tenth victorious expedition; and when he arrived at the city of Araina (he found that) that wretched enemy (the King) of Naharin had (there) collected horses and men. . . . They were numerous, and were prepared to fight with his Majesty; and therefore his Majesty advanced to give them battle. Then the army of his Majesty furnished an example of their impetuosity (?) by capturing and spoiling (them), for his Majesty defeated these foreigners by the (aid of the) spirits of his father Amon, and (routed that enemy) of Naharin. They fled headlong, falling over one another before his Majesty." To this account Amenemheb adds a little information. "When his Majesty came into the land of Naharin," he says, "I brought off three men from the battle there, and set them before his Majesty as living prisoners." "I witnessed his victory in the land of Tikhsi the wretched, in the city of Mero.... (perhaps near Araina). I fought hand to hand in that (battle) in the presence of the king, and I brought off three Asiatics as living prisoners. Then my lord gave me the gold of honour: 3 gold necklaces, 4 bracelets, 2 (pendants



AN ALABASTER STATUETTE OF THUTMOSE III KNEELING IN PRAYER.  
CAIRO MUSEUM.



THE STATUE OF THE GODDESS SEKHMET, ERECTED  
BY THUTMOSE III IN THE TEMPLE OF PTAH AT  
KARNAK.

*See page 343.*





in the form of) flies, a lion-(ornament), and a female and male slave."

After the rout of the enemy the spoils were counted, and consisted of "10 living prisoners; 180 horses; 60 chariots; . . . 13 inlaid corselets; 13 bronze suits of armour; 5 bronze helmets for the head; and 5 bows of Kharu (or Palestine)." The Pharaoh himself fought hand to hand in the battle, and personally made captures which are now obliterated, except for the mention of two suits of bronze armour taken from his opponents. A damaged part of the inscription also refers to booty taken in other territory during this expedition, consisting of men, chariots, and so forth. The annals of this year end, as before, with the record of the arrival of the tribute of the Sudan and Lower Nubia.

The annals of the eleventh campaign, of "Year 36," and the twelfth, of "Year 37," are lost; and so we pass on to the expedition in the spring of "Year 38," 1456 B.C., the thirteenth campaign in this amazing series. Arriving in Syria, the Pharaoh found that there was a revolt in the neighbourhood of Nuges, one of the three towns of the southern Lebanon which had been handed over to the priesthood of Amon; but it was easily suppressed, 50 prisoners being taken. Then came the tribute of the Syrian princes, which this year included 522 slaves, 328 horses, 70 chariots, 2,821 *debens* of copper, 276 blocks of crude copper, 26 blocks of lead, the usual other supplies, and also a quantity of bronze spears, shields and other weapons. The King of Cyprus sent some copper; and now came an embassy from far-off Arapakhit (Arrapachitis), a province of Assyria, this consisting of male and female slaves, 2 blocks of crude copper, and 65 logs of carob wood. On his return to Egypt, the Pharaoh found waiting him some more myrrh from Pount, and the tribute of the Sudan and Lower Nubia, the latter including no less than 2,844 *debens* of gold, probably from the Wady Alaqi mines. The next campaign, in the "Year 39," opened with an attack on some marauding tribes of Shasu or Bedouin in the land of Negeb, on the north-eastern frontier of Egypt; and during the fighting Amenemheb tells us that he fought hand to hand with these men, and captured three prisoners. The king then sailed for Syria; and received the tribute of the princes, which

included 197 slaves, 229 horses, 84 bulls, 1,183 sheep; 325 silver vases, which, with other silver in rings, weighed 1,495 *debens*; 2 gold dishes; and the other usual supplies. The King of Cyprus also again sent a present, consisting of 40 blocks of copper, 1 of lead, and 2 ivory tusks; and, on returning to Egypt, the Pharaoh received the usual supplies from the Sudan and Lower Nubia.

The expedition of "Year 40," 1454 B.C., which was the fifteenth of the series, was again of no great importance. The tribute of the Syrian princes was collected, and a present of gold from the King of the Hittites was received. The tribute from Lower Nubia in that year comprised 3,144 *debens* of gold; and a small quantity also came from the Sudan. Then in "Year 41," 1453 B.C., the king set out on his sixteenth expedition, the latest one of which we have any record; and this seems to have crowned his achievements, for at last he overthrew Tunip and Aleppo, and placed his northern frontier along a line drawn from the mouth of the Orontes at the north of Syria, past the later Antioch, and across to some point on the Euphrates south of Carchemish. Thutmose was now a man of no more than 57 or 58 years of age (not "over 70" as Breasted says, *Records*, II, § 528); and it is not necessary to suppose that this was actually his last campaign. The annals tell us that that particular chronicle was only brought down to the 42nd year of the reign; and subsequent wars may have been recorded on some other and now destroyed wall of the temple.

On this sixteenth campaign the Egyptian army seems to have been transported by sea to Simyra or Arvad early in April, and then to have marched north along the coast into territory which, until now, had remained unconquered. "His Majesty," the annals relate, "marched along the coast road in order to subjugate the city of Erkato, and the cities of Kana and . . ." (a lost name, perhaps Aleppo). The situation of Erkato, which is the Irkata of the Tell el-Amârna Letters, is not known exactly, but it was probably on the coast at the extreme north end of the Lebanon, near the mouth of the Orontes; and the Pharaoh's object in capturing it was that he might march inland from that point; cross the Orontes behind, and to the north of, Tunip; march on

to Aleppo in the country of Naharin, some 40 miles inland from the Orontes; and then come down in a south-westerly direction, and take Tunip from the rear. The next sentence in the annals says: "This city was captured, together with its territories," and the reference may be to Aleppo. Here Amenemheb adds a little information. "Again I fought hand to hand," he declares, "in that engagement at the place (called) 'The Heights of Wan,' on the west of Aleppo. I captured 13 Asiatics as living prisoners and (their) 13 bronze spears, the bronze being wrought with gold, and (also) 70 donkeys, alive." The Egyptian army then marched south-west to Tunip, and probably surprised it. "His Majesty arrived at Tunip," the laconic annals tell us, "captured that city, harvested its crops, and cut down its trees"; and this reference to the harvest shows that he was there not later than May. It may be supposed that the army of Tunip, thus taken in the rear, that is to say from the north, fled southwards to Senzar, an allied city on the Orontes, 25 miles away; and here Amenemheb records a fight. "I witnessed the royal victory of the king in the district of Senzar," he says, "when he made a great slaughter amongst them. I fought hand to hand in the presence of the king, and brought off a hand there (from my slain opponent). The king gave me the gold of honour." The enemy, which, as we shall presently see, consisted partly of troops belonging to Naharin, continued their flight southwards along the Orontes, and so came into the territory of Kadesh, which was now loyal to the Pharaoh; and here they were routed out of the towns they had occupied, and were scattered. The annals say: "His Majesty arrived in the territory of Kadesh, captured the towns there, and took the (following) booty from the (defeated troops) of wretched Naharin who were in these (places) as auxiliary confederates (of Tunip), with their horses: 691 men, 29 hands (i.e. killed), 44 horses, and . . ." The Pharaoh then showed his magnanimity once more by pardoning the Prince of Tunip, for in the mortuary chapel of Menkheperresonb in the Theban necropolis that old enemy is shown presenting his young son to the king as a hostage. Thence the Pharaoh marched back over the Lebanon to his base at Simyra (?), where the usual tribute was brought to him from the various districts, during June.

On his return to Egypt he received the usual tribute from the Sudan and Lower Nubia, the latter including 2,374 *debens* of gold from the mines. The mining season, it may be worth pointing out, ended in April, and the gold was shipped down to Thebes in May or June; and thus it is listed each year at the end of the record of the Syrian campaign from which the Pharaoh usually returned in June or July. This particular "Year 41" (1453 B.C.) ended on August 5th, a month or so after the king's return; and on New Year's Day, August 6th, the "Year 42" began. This year was that of the 2nd jubilee, 10 years after the 1st jubilee of "Year 32"; and as there could be no campaign in this sacred year, the Pharaoh took the opportunity to record on the walls of the temple of Karnak the annals of his campaign up to date—those annals from which the foregoing information has mainly been derived. "His Majesty," we are told at the conclusion of that chronicle, "commanded to record the victories which he won from the Year 23 to the Year 42, when this inscription was recorded upon this sanctuary (wall)."

This extraordinary series of sixteen campaigns had, of course, raised to sublime heights the prestige of this keen little man with the big nose who wore the Crown of the Pharaohs; and for generations afterwards stories were told of his exploits and those of his generals. One of these generals was a man of princely rank, called Thutiy, whose tomb (though neither I nor any other modern worker on the spot found any trace of it) must exist somewhere in the Theban Necropolis, for it was evidently entered by native thieves half a century ago, since a number of objects from it then came into the market, and found their way into the museums of Leyden, Darmstadt, and the Louvre. One of these objects is a golden bowl in the Louvre, on which is written: "The prince; Father-in-law of the king (i.e. a daughter of his was one of the secondary wives of the Pharaoh); who satisfies the king (by his work) in every land and in the islands in the midst of the Great Green Sea (the Mediterranean); filling the Treasury with lapis lazuli, silver, and gold; Governor of the countries; General of the army; favourite of the king; and royal scribe: Thutiy." Another object from this tomb, a jewel at Leyden, gives the further title "Governor of the Northern

Countries," which suggests that the Pharaoh, at the close of his campaigning, had made Thutiy his viceroy in Syria. This man came to be a popular figure in Egyptian legend, and in a papyrus dating from about two centuries later (*Harris Papyrus*, No. 500, British Museum) an extraordinary tale is told of him, which, though partly fiction, may have been founded on fact. I will tell the story as it may have happened, but in so doing I shall deviate slightly here and there from the written narrative. One day a messenger came to the palace, and reported to the Pharaoh that the wretched Prince of Joppa had revolted, and had murdered the Egyptian officers who were in the city. At this the Pharaoh was furious like a panther, and swore by Amon that he would destroy Joppa. A council of generals was called, and presently Thutiy, seized with an idea, said to his royal master: 'Lend me the great staff-of-office of the king, and let some daring men be sent with me, and I will kill the wretched Prince of Joppa and capture his city.' This was done, and Thutiy set out on his perilous adventure. Arriving in Syria, he collected a great number of jars, crates and bundles in which he could hide the pick of his men, the idea being that he would pass them into the rebel city as gifts for its prince. He then sent a message to him, saying that he had fled from Egypt because King Thutmose was jealous of his power and wished to kill him, and that he had brought with him a great quantity of riches and supplies stolen from the court, including the Pharaoh's own dominion-giving and awe-inspiring staff-of-office, hidden in his chariot-horses' fodder, which portentous and inestimably valuable treasure he would secretly hand over to the prince, thereby endowing him with at least the outward symbol of absolute authority. The Prince of Joppa knew Thutiy well by reputation, and at once invited him to come unarmed to his palace; whereat Thutiy made his way to Joppa, and entered the city in his chariot. He had guessed, of course, that he would only be permitted to come into the prince's presence after being searched, and it was for this reason that he had conceived the idea of the staff-of-office hidden in the fodder; for his scheme was to kidnap the prince, and for this purpose he would need a sack, a gag and manacles, and some sort of weapon. The baton itself would serve as a

weapon, and the manacles would be hidden in the sack, which the town-guards would have been told to allow him to bring unopened into the city. On his arrival at the palace he was well-received by the prince and his wife, and he explained that the treasures and supplies brought from Egypt were in charge of his men outside the city walls. The prince asked to see the wonderful staff-of-office; and therefore Thutiy took him privately to his chariot, and, when they were alone, opened the sack of fodder, produced the staff-of-office from it, knocked the prince senseless with it, gagged and bound him, and pushed him into the sack. He then returned to his companions outside the gates, carrying the kidnapped man with him in his chariot, having told the unsuspecting wife of the prince that he was going to fetch the presents he had brought from Egypt. She, apparently, did not notice her husband's disappearance, and told her officers to admit the Egyptians with the goods they were carrying. Meanwhile Thutiy's men had concealed themselves in the crates, bundles and great jars; and thus, as soon as the insensible prince had been carried out of the town and secured, the Egyptian soldiers were conveyed into it by their recklessly daring leader. Then, at a given signal, they scrambled out of their hiding-places, and seized the palace, whereupon the soldiers of Joppa, realizing that their prince had been kidnapped, surrendered in panic.

Such is the story which, as I say, may well have been founded on fact; but if, one day, the tomb of Thutiy is rediscovered we may perhaps find upon its walls the true account of the adventure. I have already quoted from the biographical inscription in the mortuary chapel of that other general, Amenemheb; and Thebes also contains the chapel and sepulchre (No. 155) of a third general, a certain nobleman named Intef, who was hereditary prince of the Thinite province, north of Thebes, and Lord of the Oases in the Western Desert (Vol. I, page 89). He held the position of "Great Herald of the King," and he tells us on his mortuary stela now in the Louvre (de Rougé, *Notices des monuments*, 84) that it was his business to go ahead of the army, and, at each of the towns where the night was to be passed, to select a house for the king and prepare it for him. "When my lord arrived where I

was," he says, "I had prepared the house. I had furnished it with everything that could be wished for in a foreign country, made it (in fact) better than the palaces of Egypt. I had cleansed and purified it, isolated it, had its rooms decorated, each chamber for its proper purpose, (so that) I made the king's heart satisfied with what I had done." This Prince Intef records a long list of his virtues, amongst which the following are worth mentioning as showing the moral standards of the time. He states that he is a man "who acts strongly against robbers; using violence to those who use violence; magnanimous towards the magnanimous; who shortens the hour of the cruel; who causes the evil-minded to conform to the laws even though his heart is unwilling; great in terror amongst criminals; turning his back upon the ignorant; taking care to listen to a man of truth; protector of the well-behaved; gentle towards one who is cold and hot (i.e. nervous); understanding the heart; knowing the thoughts when nothing has come forth from the lips; turning his face to him who speaks the truth; turning away from him who tells lies; free from partiality; servant of the poor; father of the fatherless; parent of the orphan; mother of the frightened; jailer of the turbulent, but protector of the weak; advocate of him who has been deprived of his possessions by one stronger than he; husband of the widow; shelter of the orphan; making the mourner happy." Another of the king's officers was Nebamon, who also had a tomb at Thebes (No. 24), the inscribed stela in which (Bouriant, *Recueil*, ix, 95) tells us that he served first under Thutmose II, and afterwards under Thutmose III, who made him steward of one of the royal wives, the Lady Nebtu. "My lord the king," he says, "appointed me to be Admiral of all the king's ships. . . . I was not associated with evil, but attained a respected old age in the favour of the king."

Another important personage was a man named Thaneni, whose tomb-chapel is at Thebes (No. 74). He says there: "I followed King Menkheperre (Thutmose III), and witnessed the victories which he won in every country. He brought the princes of Syria as living prisoners to Egypt, he captured all their cities, and cut down their groves. . . . I recorded the victories, putting them in writing according to the facts."



This is corroborated by the annals, where we are told in regard to the first campaign that "all that his Majesty did . . . was recorded each day . . . upon a leather scroll which is in the temple of Amon to this day," i.e. to "Year 42" when the annals were engraved on the wall. As this Thaneni lived on into the reign of Thutmose IV, and then supervised the taking of the census, a reference to the table on page 240 will show that he must have been quite a young man at the time of the battle of Megiddo, for Thutmose IV came to the throne 56 years after that event. The High Priest of Osiris at Abydos, named Nebwawi, has already been mentioned on page 299. On his mortuary stela (Mariette, *Abydos*, II, 33) he says: "I directed (the making of) many works in the house of my father Osiris, (these being) of silver, gold, lapis lazuli, malachite, and every splendid and costly stone. All these were under my direction (*literally*, "upon my seal"), and he (Osiris) knew that I was excellent of heart towards him. I administered the affairs of my lord, and was as a protector of the temple of my father (Osiris). I attained a revered (old age) in favour in the king's presence. I was summoned to his golden palace, and my place was amongst his princes. My feet trod in splendid place(s), and I was anointed with the most precious ointment, and a wreath was around my neck, as the king does to him whom he has favoured." He adds that he lived on into the co-regency of Thutmose III with Amenhotpe II, who presented him with "a statue of his father, King Menkheperre (Thutmose III) . . . and lands from the royal estate."

A host of other great men of his time are known by name: Generals of his army, Royal Heralds, the Chief Recruiting-officer, his Armour-bearer, his Aides-de-camp, his Fan-bearers, Royal Butlers, Stewards of the Palace, the High Steward of Thebes, the Harbour-Master in Thebes, the Governor of the Deserts, the Viceroy of Kush, Governors of the South, the Chief of his Cabinet, his Chancellor, his Prime Ministers, the various High Priests, and so forth. They are too numerous to be recorded here in detail; but the mortuary chapels of some of them will be found listed in the *Topographical Catalogue of the Tombs of Thebes* (Gardiner and Weigall), and Petrie enumerates some in his *History of Egypt*. Sur-

rounded by this galaxy of capable men, and loaded with the wealth derived from his foreign dominions, as well as from the luxuriant Nile valley itself and the gold and copper mines of its deserts, the Pharaoh reached a pinnacle of power loftier than that of any king the world had ever known; and now in this 42nd year of his reign he celebrated his second jubilee in the utmost splendour. Reference to page 278 will remind the reader that Thutmose I had made two obelisks, to be placed in front of the main temple at Karnak. One of these was certainly erected and inscribed during that king's lifetime, but the other was probably left lying on the ground until the reign of Thutmose III, who at last caused it to be set up and inscribed with his own names and titles at some unknown date, perhaps that of his first jubilee. But now, at the second jubilee, he erected two large obelisks just in front of these other two, and caused them to be inscribed with his names and titles. They are referred to in a relief and inscription on a temple-wall at Karnak (Weigall, *Guide*, 100), where we see the Pharaoh offering them to Amon (Plate XIII). Fragments of one of them are to be seen at Karnak (Engelbach, *Problem of the Obelisks*, 108); but the other was removed to Constantinople by the Emperor Theodosius, and still stands there. That it was originally set up to celebrate the second jubilee, not the first, is shown by the inscription upon it which speaks of Thutmose as "Lord of Victory, Binder of every land, who sets his boundary as far (away) as the Horus of the Earth, and the waters of Naharin, who crossed the great bend (of the river) of Naharin with might and victory at the head of his army"; and as the crossing of the Euphrates took place after the first jubilee, these two obelisks are to be dated later than that. In an inscription written on a wall at Karnak at the same time as the annals, the king refers to gifts he had made to the temple "from the Year 23 until the writing of this record," that is to say in "Year 42" (Breasted, *Records*, II, § 555); and there he states that he had then made "4 great obelisks," namely, these two, and the two erected at the first jubilee.

The High Priest of Amon, Menkheperresonb, also refers to the erection of obelisks, and to his being in office at the time, in an inscription in his tomb (No. 86) at Thebes (Breasted,

*Records*, II, § 776); and for two reasons this reference must be to those of "Year 42": firstly other inscriptions in that tomb speak of tribute sent by the Kings of Tunip, Kadesh, and the Hittites, all of which came in later than the first jubilee; and, secondly, the High Priest's personal name, Menkheperresonb, shows that he was born when Menkheperre (Thutmose III) was already reigning, which means that he would have only been about 30 years of age at the first jubilee, and too young to hold high office, but that at the second jubilee, when he would have been over 40, he might well have had the work in his care, as he says.

Besides writing the annals of his conquests, the Pharaoh marked this "Year 42" by recording the gifts to the temple of Amon, which he had made during the previous years. Between the 23rd and the 42nd years, he says, he gave 1,578 Syrian slaves, male and female, to the temple, as well as a now lost number of negroes and negresses. He "formed flocks of geese to fill the sacred lake (of the temple), for the daily sacrifices"; and two fattened geese were to be offered to the god every day. He presented "many fields, gardens, and ploughed lands of the best of the South and North." He "founded for him an evening sacrifice of bread, beer, fowl, incense, wine, and cakes." He "made for him a garden, planted with every pleasant tree, in order to offer the produce therefrom for the daily sacrifices." He established special sacrifices for various feast days, consisting of oxen, calves, geese and other fowl, bread, beer, wine, incense, and so forth. He caused special cows from Syria and the Sudan to be kept in the Temple, "so as to draw the milk from them into jars of electrum every day, to be offered to Amon." He "presented him with silver, gold, lapis lazuli, malachite, copper, bronze, lead, pigments, and emery, in great quantities." The accompanying reliefs, also, give a detailed catalogue of temple furniture, ornaments, and vases of silver and gold, stacked before the god; and in the paintings in the tomb of Menkheperresonb, the High Priest, similar vases of great beauty are represented as being brought as tribute from Syria, which indicates that all these wonderful creations of the gold- and silversmith's art, of which so many pictures are known at this period, owe more to Syrian influence than has been

supposed. The High Priest's tomb also gives paintings of many other objects brought from Syria and presented by the Pharaoh to Amon: plumed helmets of bronze, bows and arrows and other weapons, chariots, horses, and so forth (Weigall, *Guide*, 126).

It may have been at about this time that Thutmose III caused to be inscribed at Karnak the famous list of kings now called "The Karnak List," which gave the names of a number of Pharaohs whom he regarded, perhaps, as his ancestors. The list is much damaged, and the order of the names is erratic, but the reader will remember that it is a valuable authority for the dynasties preceding the Eighteenth.

In this same jubilee year the Pharaoh set up a statue of his father Thutmose II at Karnak (Mariette, *Karnak*, 38); and at Edfu I found the remains of another statue of Thutmose II, also dedicated by Thutmose III, possibly at the same period (*Annales*, viii, 44). The Pharaoh, in fact, was now paying as much homage to the memory of *his* father, Thutmose II, as the late Queen Hetshepsut had paid to the memory of *her* father, Thutmose I. Thutmose II, just before he died, had chosen Thutmose III as his heir (page 291), and the son now showed his gratitude; but this gratitude implied a coolness in regard to the memory of Thutmose I, who had never favoured Thutmose II but had wished Hetshepsut to succeed him (page 288). Hetshepsut!—the very name must have aroused a passion of rage at this time in the breast of Thutmose III; for he must have recalled with intense bitterness those wasted years when she had kept him in the background and had refused to allow him to wield any power. If only he had been allowed to attack Syria fifteen or twenty years earlier than he had actually done, he might now have conquered the whole world. Carchemish might have been his, and all Mitanni, on the east of the Euphrates: he might even have reached eastwards to the Tigris, and laid hold on Assyria. North of Aleppo he might have held vast territory now in the hands of the Hittites. South-eastwards, down the Euphrates, he might have marched on Babylon. His fleet might even have dared the open sea, and might have crossed to Crete, and spoiled it of its wealth. But Hetshepsut

had held him down until his youth was gone, and now, twenty years later, he was 58, and the time would soon be coming when his campaigning days would be over.

His bitterness found expression in an organized persecution of the memory of the queen which, I think, must have begun at about this time. In the temple of Dêr el-Bahri he caused her name to be erased in almost every place where it was to be seen; and, since the queen had always represented herself in male attire, it was quite a simple matter to convert her figure into that of a king by changing no more than the name. But whose name should he insert? Not his own; for everybody knew that the temple was not his, and, indeed, he had his own mortuary temple elsewhere. Not that of Thutmose I; for he felt no goodwill towards the memory of that king. The name of his beloved father, Thutmose II, remained—the king who ought by rights to have figured in that temple, since he was Hetshepsut's husband. He, too, had been insulted and ignored by the queen; but now his name should be inserted in place of Hetshepsut's throughout Dêr el-Bahri, and he gave orders for the substitution to be made. Here and there, too, he wrote in his own name. Now, it will be recalled (page 321) that the queen had made a change in the scheme of her temple before it was completed, and that, desiring to associate her father, Thutmose I, with her in the spiritual benefits of the temple sacrifices, she had here and there changed her figure into his in the reliefs, by the substitution of his name for hers, so that he might be seen of all men to be her spiritual companion. Thus it comes about that in the ruins of that temple to-day we can see these different substitutions; and, working on the declared hypothesis that the insertion of one name over another name must of necessity be attributed to the owner of the inserted name, Professors Sethe, Breasted and others have supposed that the confusion of names was caused by the fact that Thutmose I, II and III were all alive together, and were fighting for the throne, the one placing his name over the other when for a time the power fell into his hands. But, as I hope this history of mine has shown, no such explanation is necessary or can be entertained for a moment. Indeed, the hypothesis itself can be denied; for on the wooden sarcophagus of Queen

Tiy we found that the erased name of Amenhotpe III had been rewritten by a later king.

In temples other than Dêr el-Bahri, also, Thutmose III struck out the name of Queen Hetshepsut : there are many instances of the erasure to be seen. Sometimes the whole block of stone which bore the detested name was pulled out of the wall, and replaced by another, as, for example, in the case of a stone lintel at Abydos, which had originally been inscribed with the names of Hetshepsut and Thutmose III together, where the block bearing the name of the queen had been replaced by one which was then inscribed with that of Thutmose II (Petrie, *Abydos*, I, pl. lxi, 2). It was probably at about this time, too, that the Pharaoh dismantled the funeral chapel of the queen at Karnak (page 340). Her two great obelisks, however, presented a more difficult problem ; for an obelisk was in itself a sacred object, a kind of totem, to which offerings were made, and it would have been sacrilege to destroy them. He therefore ordered them to be encased in masonry as high as the walls of the court in which they stood, for then, by roofing this court, only the tops of the obelisks would be able to be seen, projecting above it, and these but at a distance. He may have proposed to plate these upper parts of the obelisks with gold, for that was sometimes done ; and, in that case, all that would remain to be seen of Hetshepsut's work would be two great golden spikes shooting up from above the temple roof. By the time of his death, however, only the northern side of the court had been roofed.

It was probably in this second jubilee-year that the great hymn of victory was composed, which was inscribed upon a black granite tablet found at Karnak and now in the Cairo Museum (Breasted, *Records*, II, §655). The words are described as being addressed by Amon-Re to the Pharaoh. After the opening sentences this hymn reads : " I have performed a miracle for you ; for I have given you dominion and victory over all countries. I have set your fame, and the fear of you, in all lands ; and the terror of you (has reached) as far as the four pillars of heaven. I have magnified the dread of you in all hearts ; and I have put the bellowing of your Majesty into (the ears of) the tribes of the Nine Bows.

The princes of all countries are gathered in your grasp ; and I myself have stretched out my two hands, and have bound them for you. I have bound together the Nubian tribesmen by thousands and tens of thousands ; and the Northerners by hundreds of thousands are as (your) captives. I have struck down your enemies beneath your sandals, and you have overthrown the hordes of rebellious people according as I commanded you. The (races of the) earth in its length and breadth, Westerners and Easterners, are subject to the place where your presence is ; and you tread all countries in gladness of heart . . . (when) you crossed the waters of the great bend of (the river of) Naharin with victory and might, I decreed for you that they (should) hear your bel-lowing and disappear into their holes. I deprived their nos-trils of the breath of life ; (for) I set the terrors of your Majesty in their hearts. My cobra-diadem upon your brow consumes them ; it captures by the hair the people of Kode, and devours with its flame those who dwell in the marshes (of Naharin). The heads of the Asiatics are struck down, (so that) there is not a remnant of them left ; and fallen are the sons of their mighty ones. I have caused your victories to circulate amongst all lands ; and my cobra-diadem lights up your dominions. There is no rebel against you as far as the circuit of heaven ; (but all) come bearing their tribute upon their backs, bowing down to your Majesty according to my com-mand. I have made impotent the invaders who advanced against you ; their hearts were consumed and their limbs trembled. I have come, causing you to strike at the princes of Syria ; I have hurled them beneath your feet among their highlands. I have made them see your Majesty as a lord of radiance ; so that you have shone in their faces like my image. I have come, causing you to strike at the Asiatics ; and you have made captive the chiefs of the Asiatics of Syria. I have made them see your Majesty equipped with your accoutrements ; grasping weapons of war, and (riding) in a chariot. I have come, causing you to strike at the lands of the East ; and you have trampled upon those who are in the territories of God's Country. I have made them see your Majesty as a circling comet ; when it throws out its flames, and in fire gives forth its substance. I have come, causing

you to strike at the lands of the West ; and Phœnicia and Cyprus are in panic. I have made them see your Majesty as a young bull ; determined, ready-horned, irresistible. I have come, causing you to strike at those who dwell in the marshes ; and the lands of Mitanni tremble in fear of you. I have made them see your Majesty as a crocodile ; lord of the terror that is in the water, the unapproachable one. I have come, causing you to strike at those who dwell in the islands ; and those who are in the midst of the Great Green Sea are under (the power of) your bellowing. I have made them see your Majesty as an avenger ; who stands upon the back of the victim he has killed. I have come, causing you to strike at the Libyans ; and the oases (?) of Utentiu are subject to the might of your prowess. I have made them see your Majesty as a fierce-eyed lion ; and you make dead men of them in their desert-valleys. I have come, causing you to strike at the uttermost ends of the earth ; and that which the Great Orbit encircles is comprised within your grasp. I have made them see your Majesty as a lord of wings ; who swoops upon that which he sees, as often as he wishes. I have come, causing you to strike at those who are in the outposts of the country ; and you have taken the desert-dwellers as living prisoners. I have made them see your Majesty as a jackal of the south ; a lord of the track, stealthy-going, who roams about the Two Lands. . . . The arms of my Majesty are above you, warding off evil ; and I have caused you to reign, my beloved son. . . . I have established you upon the Hawk-throne for millions of years ; and you shall continue your life for ever and ever."

Of the remaining years of the great king's reign we know little ; but the Nile valley is full of the ruins of the temples he built or enlarged, from the Delta to the heart of the Sudan. In Thebes, at Medinet Habu he completed the mortuary temple of the earlier kings of the dynasty ; and at Dêr el-Bahri he rounded off the work. In the Eleventh Dynasty temple adjoining this, he erected a little chapel dedicated to the sacred cow which was a form of the goddess Hathor, patron goddess of these desert cliffs. In the chapel he placed a statue of this cow, and represented himself as drinking the divine milk from its udder. Both the chapel and the statue



are now in the Cairo Museum (Maspero, *Guide*, 1910, p. 125). He built on to the temple of Luxor, and the area of the temples of Karnak was more than doubled by him. At On (Heliopolis) a stela, now in Berlin, was found (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 29), dated in "Year 47," and stating that he built a thick wall of stone around the Sun-temple, and cleansed the whole place; and at Boston there is a stela from Napata, far up in the Sudan, dated in "Year 47, 10th day of the 3rd month of the 1st season," which would correspond to October 13, 1447 B.C. The remains of his work throughout the length and breadth of the country, however, are too numerous to mention in detail.

In the winter of the 50th year of his reign, when he was about 67 years of age, he led an expedition into the Sudan, from which he did not return until the end of April, at the close of the cool season; and this indicates that it had been a lengthy business, occupying the whole time—nearly 8 months—since September, which was the season when Egyptian armies usually set out for the Sudan, that being the time of the floods, when the cataracts were most easily navigable. On the outward journey, at the start of the expedition, it is evident that the Nile was high, for his ships had passed without mishap over the obstructions which had accumulated at the First Cataract; but on the return journey the water was low, and thus it was discovered that the fairway of the ancient channel made round the east end of the island of Sehel (page 86), for the purpose of facilitating the passage of the Cataract, was blocked with stones, and its clearance became necessary. This was recorded in an inscription cut on the rocks there (*Recueil*, xiii, 202), reading: "In the Year 50, on the 22nd day of the 1st month of the 3rd season (i.e. April 22, 1444 B.C.), in the reign of King Menkheperre (Thutmose III), his Majesty ordered the dredging of the channel, after he had found it blocked up with stones, (so that) no ship could sail upon it. He (then) sailed downstream upon it, in gladness of heart, having destroyed his enemies. The name of this channel is (to be) 'The-Opening-of-this-Fairway-is-for-the-Benefit-of-Menkheperre-Living-for-ever.' The fishermen of Iebo (Elephantine) shall clear this channel each year." We have no details of the campaign, which, judging by the

state of this channel, must have been the first undertaken for many years ; but three facts indicate that the operations were very extensive and successful. Firstly, there is this hint of the length of time it occupied ; secondly, a few years later Amenhotpe II sent an expedition up to the Fourth Cataract, 650 miles above Elephantine, which suggests that Thutmose III had prepared the way ; and, thirdly, at Karnak the king recorded on his southern pylon (Baedeker's Pylon vii), a list of some 400 Nubian towns and districts which had come under his rule. In this campaign the Pharaoh had the help of Nehi, his great Viceroy of Kush, who for years had governed this part of Egypt's dominions, and whose headquarters seem to have been at Maam, the modern Anâybeh, 132 miles above the First Cataract (Weigall, *Guide*, 553). Several inscriptions of this great official are known ; and it will be remembered that it was to him that the Pharaoh sent the first news of his victory at Megiddo in " Year 23 " (page 356).

In the 52nd year, 1442 B.C., Thutmose III seems to have celebrated his third jubilee, 10 years after his second jubilee of " Year 42," and 20 years after his first jubilee of " Year 32." There is no definite statement naming " Year 52 " for this celebration ; but, as will presently be seen, the date is pretty certain. In honour of this event, the Viceroy Nehi caused a rock-cut shrine to be made in the west face of the cliffs at the edge of the Nile, at the place now called Kasr Ibrîm, opposite Anâybeh ; and here he engraved an inscription, recording the arrival, in the sacred year, of the tribute from the Sudan. Probably a great durbar, or reception of the chieftains, had been held at Maam, and this inscription was the record of it. It is dated in " Year 52 " (not " Year 51," as is sometimes stated), and speaks of " the bringing of the tribute of the southern countries, consisting of gold, ivory, and ebony." As this must have been a particularly important occasion thus to be specially recorded, we are justified in regarding its date as an indication of the year in which the third jubilee was held. Nehi is here described as one who " pleases the heart of the king at the Horns of the Earth," that is to say in the uttermost parts of his dominions ; who is the king's " companion, one who approaches the mighty

sovereign, and is vigilant in the interests of the Lord of the Palace ;" who is "a servant useful to his Lord, filling his house with gold" by collecting "the taxes of the southern countries"; and "whose praises are uttered in the presence of his Lord" (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 45). It may be the reception of the tribute of this particular year which is referred to in an inscription and accompanying reliefs in one of the chambers at the back of the Festival Hall built by Thutmose III in the temple of Karnak, where we see the Pharaoh presenting to Amon a mass of offerings, including cattle, birds, flowers, fruit, bread, vases, necklaces, and jewels; and where we read that he "presented to Amon all divine sacrificial offerings, which his Majesty did in addition to that which was before, giving an oblation (also) of vessels of very large capacity, (with) necklaces, amulets, and pendants, of new electrum, brought to his Majesty from the southern countries as their tribute for this year."

In celebration of this third Jubilee, too, the Pharaoh caused another mighty obelisk to be quarried at Aswân, and transported to Karnak; but, probably owing to extensive and as yet incompleated building operations around the spot where it was to stand, it was not set up, and was still lying on the ground when, less than two years later, the Pharaoh died. There it lay during the whole reign of the next king, Amenhotpe II; but at last it was erected by the succeeding monarch, Thutmose IV, who says that "he had found this obelisk which had spent 35 years lying upon its side in the hands of the builders, on the south side of Karnak." Thutmose IV, unfortunately, does not give the year in his reign when this work was carried out; but a reference to the table on page 240 will show that 35 years after "Year 52" of Thutmose III would be "Year 9" of Thutmose IV, the last year of that king's reign. From this little calculation we can see that the obelisk was not brought to Karnak later than "Year 52"; and the probability that it was not brought there much earlier than that year is shown by the fact that it was not yet erected when Thutmose III died. These two points, taken together with the likelihood of the third jubilee being held at the same interval after the second, as the second was after the first, make it pretty certain, as I have said, that "Year 52" was

the jubilee year. This obelisk was taken to Rome by Constantius in A.D. 357, and in 1587 was erected in front of the church of St. John Lateran, where it still stands. The inscription upon it, written in anticipation of its actual erection, gives the names and titles of Thutmose III, and makes the curious statement that "he made it in honour of his father Amon-Re, erecting for him this single obelisk in the forecourt of the (south) temple alongside the (main) temple of Karnak, this being the first time that a single obelisk has been erected in Thebes." This shows that it was not one of a pair, and therefore it could not have been the fellow of the Constantinople obelisk as Wiedemann (*Aegyptische Geschichte*, 365) and others have stated.

In celebration of this same third jubilee, the king caused two other obelisks to be set up in the sun-temple in On (Heliopolis). One of these was removed in 13 B.C. to Alexandria, and in 1877 was shipped to England, and now stands on the Thames Embankment in London. The other, its fellow, was removed to New York in 1880, and stands now in Central Park. The inscription on the London obelisk states that both were made "at the 3rd occurrence of the jubilee." The numeral "3" is given as "4" by Brugsch (*Thesaurus*, V, 1130); but Breasted (*Records*, II, p. 254, note f) seems to be right in correcting this, though the inscription, caked with London soot, is to-day hard to read, and the hieroglyphs, delicately chiselled into the once glossy granite, are blurred now and partly illegible. This, by the way, prompts me to say, in passing, that if the vanity of a past generation sanctioned the erection in London of an historic Egyptian monolith of exquisite pink granite, which was only significant so long as it remained on its native soil, and was only beautiful so long as it retained its delicate colour, the least reparation the Londoners of to-day could make to the outraged spirit of the grand old warrior, Thutmose III, would be to keep his sacred jubilee-monument clean, and not to dub the pathetic thing "Cleopatra's Needle."

This is the last dated event in the life of the great king; and there is little more to add in regard to the reign. With reference to the domestic side of his life, however, it may be as well to run over the evidence relating to his wives, for it

all helps to build up the sequence of events in the story of his times, and the matter seems to have escaped the historian's notice. Firstly, then, it will be recalled that he was married to Queen Hetshepsut's elder daughter, Nofrure (page 325). The marriage, however, did not take place till after the temple of Dêr el-Bahri was built ; i.e. some time after " Year 9 " of Thutmose III, for in the inscriptions there Nofrure is still called " Princess." She was still alive when the temple of Ptah at Karnak was built (page 361), but died while its dedication-stela was being made in " Year 24 " ; and Ahmose Pennekheb, whose death occurred very shortly afterwards, speaks of her as dead (page 362). Nofrure, however, could hardly have been his first wife, since he was over 26 when he married her. He may have been married previously to Ahset, who may have been a half-sister, and who at any rate has the distinction of a royal oval or cartouche around her name. When Nofrure died Ahset took her place as queen ; for on the Ptah-temple stela the name of Nofrure has been changed into that of Ahset (Legrain, *Répertoire généalogique*, No. 119). I found a fragment of a stela giving this Ahset's name with that of her husband in his mortuary-temple (*Annales*, vii, 130), which shows, like the Ptah-temple stela, that she was queen a few years after the beginning of the sole reign of Thutmose III (page 342) ; a votive axe belonging to her was found at Abydos (Mariette, *Abydos*, II, 40) ; and a statue of her, dedicated to her after her death by Thutmose III, was discovered at Tûd (Tuphium), south of Thebes (Legrain, *Répertoire*, No. 118). She was already dead when Thutmos III built the chapel of the sacred cow at Dêr el-Bahri (Naville, *Eleventh Dynasty Temple*, p. 63) ; for she is not mentioned there ; and in the tomb of Thutmose III she is called " Queen Ahset, deceased." She probably died about the " Year 27," for by " Year 28 " Thutmose III appears to have been married to the younger sister of Nofrure, Hetshepsut-Merytre, second daughter of Queen Hetshepsut (page 362). By her Thutmose III had a son, Prince Amenhotpe, who succeeded him on the throne ; and as this monarch's mummy shows him to have died at the age of 50, at most, and as his death is known to have occurred in 1416 B.C. (see table, page 240), he must have been born about 1465 B.C., in about " Year 29 " of his

father's reign, which permits us to presume that the marriage took place about "Year 28," and hence, perhaps, that Ahset died about "Year 27," as mentioned above. Hetshepsut-Meryre, however, was born in the last months of the reign of Thutmose II, 1493 B.C. (page 290), and therefore was about 27 years of age when she was married to Thutmose III; and as this is a late age for a girl's marriage in Egypt, one wonders whether she had perhaps been married to some other prince, but, on becoming heiress of the kingdom by her elder sister's death, had been divorced and married to the king for political reasons. She suffered the amputation of half her name in the days when the memory of her mother, the late queen, came to be persecuted; and thus, though in the early years of the reign she had been called Hetshepsut-Merytre, she appears in the inscriptions in the chapel of the sacred cow, and in those in her husband's tomb, simply as "Queen Merytre." She is sometimes represented with her son (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 62, 64); a female sphinx of hers is in the Baracco collection (*Zeitschrift*, xx, 118); and she is represented with her husband at Medinet Habu (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 38), and elsewhere. Although Merytre was known as the "Great" wife of the king, Thutmose III also had secondary wives or queens, and two of these are known. Firstly, there was Merytamon: her name appears in the chapel of the sacred cow, and she is there called "King's Daughter, King's Sister, and King's Wife," which means that she was a daughter of Thutmose II by a secondary wife, and therefore sister of Thutmose III, as well as his wife. Secondly, there was the lady Nebtu, of whose estate the Admiral Nebamon was steward (page 385). A wooden docket (*Zeitschrift*, xxi, 123), dated in "Year 27," calls her "Princess Nebtu, daughter of the King's Son Setum." Prince Setum may have been a son of Thutmose I, and the lady Nebtu may have thus been the cousin of Thutmose III; but at the above-mentioned date she does not seem, by her title, yet to have been married. She is named in the tomb of Thutmose III, and was then still alive. I may note here another lady who is also mentioned in the chapel of the sacred cow, but her name and titles have been erased, and the only words that are now legible are "... his beloved sister ...". She, too, was perhaps a daughter of Thutmose II by a second-

ary wife, though the term sister is very loosely used at this period ; but it seems that she fell into disgrace and her name was struck out. It may be thought that as the name of Nofrure is erased on the Ptah-temple stela mentioned above, this erased name is also that of Nofrure ; but this cannot be so, because, in the same chapel, Merytre is called " Great Royal Wife," a title she only obtained after Nofrure's death, and it is also to be remembered that Merytre was called by the longer name Hetshepsut-Merytre at the time when the Ptah-stela was made, and for this there is no room in the erased cartouche on that stela.

Of the king's children, the only one mentioned in his tomb is " the Princess Nofretiri, deceased " ; but as her name is not written in a royal cartouche, she was evidently not of the full blood royal, and heiress of the kingdom. She was probably the daughter of the lady Nebtu or some other secondary wife, and died young. A number of wooden docketts (*Zeitschrift*, xxi, 123) give the names of three princesses who are described as belonging to " the royal children of Menkheperre (Thutmose III) " : Princess Toui . . . , Princess Tikhete, and Princess Petkeie. Six other princesses named on these docketts are not definitely said to be daughters of Thutmose III, and may equally well have been his sisters, or cousins : their names are Petpui, Merytptah, Sethuri, Neferamon, Uiey, and Henuton. Queen Toe, wife of Amenhotpe II, may have been that king's sister, and hence daughter and heiress of Thutmose III ; but this is not definitely known.

The date of the birth of this Amenhotpe, the son and heir, may be judged from the facts (1) that his mummy shows he was not more than 50 at his death ; (2) that he could hardly have been many years less, because, in that case, his mother, Hetshepsut-Merytre, would have been as many years more than 28 when he was born (page 290), which would be improbable ; (3) that he was old enough to be associated on the throne by his father, as we shall presently see, a year before that king died ; (4) that he was old enough to go campaigning, and to take part personally in the battles, a year after his accession ; and (5) that some time during his reign of 26 years, he celebrated his jubilee, which means that he had then completed a period of 30 calendar years since he was

appointed heir to the throne. I think the best way to apply these facts is to suppose that he was born in "Year 29" of Thutmose III, 1465 B.C., a year after his mother had been married; that he came of age at 16 in "Year 45," 1449 B.C., and was then officially appointed heir to the throne, just as Thutmose III had been made heir at the age of 16; that he was made co-regent with his father in "Year 53," 1441 B.C., when he was 24; that he was 25 at his father's death in the following year; that he celebrated his jubilee in the 23rd year of his reign, 1419 B.C.; and that he died in 1415 B.C. when he was 50 years of age. That there was a co-regency of Amenhotpe with his father is shown by the inscription on the statue of Nebwawi (page 299), for that personage states that Amenhotpe II gave him a statue of Thutmose III, and the latter is not called "deceased," but is described as a living king (Breasted, *Records*, II, § 186; Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, I, 55). The words of Amenhotpe II himself, too, in his Karnak inscription, makes the co-regency quite apparent.

I may also point out that the Pharaohs of the Twelfth Dynasty seem to have appointed co-regents when they had attained the age of 70 (pages 105, etc.); and Thutmose III reached that age in his "Year 53," and therefore seems to have followed the old custom, he being the first of his line to attain that age, and hence the first to appoint a co-regent. Another point which indicates that there was such a co-regency is that the Syrian princes revolted and had to be subdued by Amenhotpe, this campaign taking place in the new king's "Year 3," 1439 B.C. Now, the cause of the revolt was most probably the death of Thutmose III, which took place, as I am about to relate, in "Year 54," and which would be in "Year 2" of Amenhotpe; and hence the campaign of "Year 3" followed within a year of the old king's death, and so meets the probability. In the mortuary chapel of Re, a High Priest of Amon (No. 72), there was a picture of this personage with the young Prince Amenhotpe seated on his knee (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 62), and Re is called his "Nurse" or "Tutor." The scene is retrospective, having been painted after the prince had come to the throne; but it affords us a welcome little glimpse of his childhood and training. It is now destroyed.



The great Thutmose III died at the age of about 71, in the 54th year of his reign, 1440 B.C. His faithful general, Amenemheb, records the exact date of the king's death in the following words: "The king completed his lifetime of many years, splendid in valour, in might, and in triumph. From Year 1 to Year 54, the last (i.e. 30th) day of the 3rd month of the 2nd season, (was) the reign of King Menkheperre (Thutmose III). He (then) mounted to heaven, he joined the Sun, the divine limbs were absorbed into him who begat him; and when the morning brightened, the sun rose, and the heavens shone, King Oekheperure Amenhotpe (II) was established upon the throne of his father and assumed the royal titles." This date corresponds to February 28, 1440 B.C. The king had thus reigned 53 years, 6 months and 29 days, dating "Year 2" from the first New Year's Day after the death of Thutmose II, or 32 years 6 months and 29 days, dating "Year 2" from the first New Year's Day after the death of Queen Hetshepsut. Josephus, quoting Manetho, miswrites this 32 years as 12, and gives 9 months instead of a figure which was probably 7, since Manetho generally used round numbers and left out the days. I may point out in passing that this error cannot be explained away by supposing that the king dated his years from the death of his predecessor, as has been thought; for calculation will show that one would thus arrive at a figure for the months even further removed from the "9" of Josephus. It should be noticed, too, that if such regnal years were used, Amenemheb might have been expected to have given the date of the king's accession as well as that of his death; and I think the fact that he did not find it necessary to do so shows that the date of the commencement of the regnal years was always the same (page 21), that is to say, it was always New Year's Day, and therefore did not need to be mentioned.

In conclusion, the evidence as to the character of Thutmose III may be worth summarizing. In the first place, his great humanity is outstandingly apparent. He pardoned the confederate princes whom he captured at Megiddo, and did not deprive them of their goods or thrones, and even his old enemies, the Prince of Kadesh and the Prince of Tunip, are represented in the Tomb of Menkheperresonb as coming

unbound and as free men to him, which indicates that they, too, were pardoned. Their hostage sons, too, were well treated, and were allowed to return to their homes in the end (page 370). We never hear of him exhibiting the dead body of a defeated enemy on the prow of his ship, as did his grandfather, Thutmose I, and his son, Amenhotpe II. In the tomb-chapel of his Prime Minister, Rekhmire, at Thebes (No. 100), Asiatic prisoners-of-war are represented "making bricks," as the inscriptions tell us, "in order to build the storehouse of the temple of Amon"; and we are told that they were "supplied with bread, beer, and every good sort of food," and that they had "a loving heart for the amiable king": and even though this may not represent the true state of affairs, it certainly represents an ideal of happy captivity which it was thought the king would like to see when he inspected his minister's mortuary chapel. One thinks of the Pharaoh, thus, as a man of very gentle nature; and, when we read of him carefully collecting the flowers he found in Syria, an impression of great sweetness of character is left on the mind. Yet this same mild and benevolent monarch is the fearless leader who chose to make a dash for Megiddo by the perilous mountain defile which his generals urged him to avoid, and who swore a round oath that if his men would not follow him through it he would go alone (page 346). He is the same heroic personage whom we see, battle-axe in hand, in the thick of the fight at Araina (page 378) and elsewhere; exciting his general's admiration by his bravery at the capture of Kadesh (page 369); and attacking a herd of wild elephants at close quarters (page 375).

His generous treatment of his Syrian enemies shows, too, his wisdom and diplomacy; and, indeed, the latter quality must have been displayed by him on many an occasion during those galling times when he was kept in suppression by Queen Hetshepsut and her nobles, for otherwise he would hardly have managed to avoid assassination. His self-control and determination are indicated by his successful passage through those difficult years; and that same determination is shown in his rise to kingship in the first instance, although only the son of a secondary wife of Thutmose II, and, as a youth, only a minor priest in the temple of Amon (page 292). He must


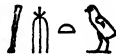





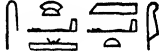



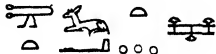




have been ambitious, too ; and his crossing of the Euphrates (page 374) in order to place his boundary-tablet a few yards beyond that of his grandfather, betrays, in this respect, a very human trait in his character. His actions, and the features of his face, show him to have been keen, energetic and alert ; and the appearance of his head suggests that cleverness which his good generalship and wise administration make apparent. " His Majesty knew everything that occurred," says Rekhmire ; " there was nothing which he did not know. He was like Thoth (the god of Wisdom) in everything, and there was no affair (undertaken) which he did not complete." He was a man, however, who could command fear as well as respect, and the terms of the hymn of victory (page 391) display him in the aspect of a very lion among men. His obliteration of the name of Hetshepsut, too, indicates that his righteous anger could be terrible (page 389).

I cannot better close this account of his reign than by quoting some extracts from a speech which he made to Rekhmire, when that personage was raised to the office of Prime Minister, and which was inscribed upon the walls of the statesman's tomb-chapel, being there stated to be the actual words used by the king (Newberry, *Life of Rekhmara*). First, in regard to the outward forms, he said : " (As to) the arrangement of the court, the Prime Minister, while hearing cases, shall sit upon a chair, with a rug upon the floor, and a daïs upon it, a cushion at his back, and a cushion under his feet, staff-of-office in his hand, and the 40 scrolls (of the law) open before him. The elders of the land shall stand in two rows before him, while the Master of the Privy Council is on his right, the Collector of Taxes on his left, and the clerks at his (either) hand. One (petitioner) shall be heard after another, without allowing one who is behind to be heard before one who is in front."


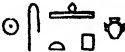







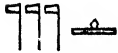



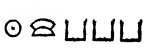


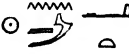






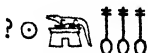
Then he went on to speak of the minister's duty. " Be watchful," he said, " over all that is done in this court of the Prime Minister, for it is the support of the whole land. As for the (office of) Prime Minister, it is not sweet : it is bitter. . . . See to it that you do everything according to law, and according to the right of it. . . . It is an abominable thing

to show partiality. This is the teaching, and you must behave thus: you must regard him who is known to you like him who is unknown to you, and him who is closely related to you like him who is far from (your circle). Do not turn from a petitioner, nor nod your head (in friendly recognition) when one addresses you. . . . Do not be angry with a man unjustly, but be angry (only) regarding that about which one ought to be angry . . . for the proper dread of princes is (caused by) their doing justice. . . . Be not known to the people, and they will not say: 'He is (only) a man.' Be (severe?) with the arrogant; for the king loves the shy-ones more than the proud."



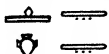



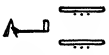

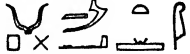
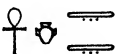


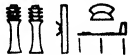
## THE NAMES OF THE PHARAHOES OF THE TWELF

No.	NAME AS HAWK-KING	NAME AS LORD OF THE VULTURE AND THE COBRA
1.	 Nem-mosut	 Nem-mosut
2.	 Enkh-mosut	 Enkh-mosut
3.	 Heken-em-maet	 Heken-em-maet
4.	 Seshemu-toui	 Sekhe-maet
5.	 Neter-kheperu	 Neter-mosut
6.	 Oe-beu	 Ithet-iue-ue
7.	 Kheper-kheperu	 Kheper-kheperu
8.	 Meryt-re	 Sit-sekhem

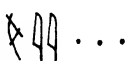
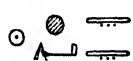






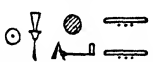



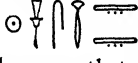
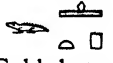

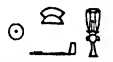
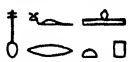
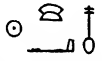
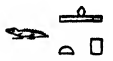

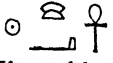
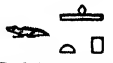
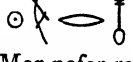


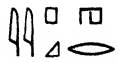
## DYNASTY AS WRITTEN IN HIEROGLYPHICAL SCRIPT

NAME AS HAWK-KING OF NUBI	NAME AS REED- AND HORNET-KING	NAME AS SON OF THE SUN-GOD
 Nem-mos(ut)	 Shotpe-ib-re	 Amen-em-het (I)
 Enkh-mos(ut)	 Kheper-ke-re	 Ses-usri(t) (I)
 Mae-kheru	 Nub-keu-re	 Amen-em-het (II)
 Neteru-hotpe	 Khe-kheper-re	 Ses-usri(t) (II)
 Kheperu	 Khe-keu-re	 Ses-usri(t) (III)
 Wah-enkh	 Ne-mae-re	 Amen-em-het (III)
 —	 Mae-kheru-re	 Amen-em-het (IV)
 Dedet-khe	 Sobk-nofru	 Sobk-nofru

THE NAMES OF THE MORE IMPORTANT PHARAOHS  
AS WRITTEN IN HIER



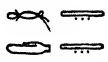
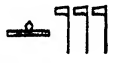
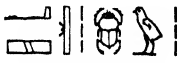

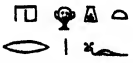
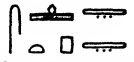
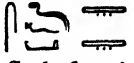
DYNASTY	No.	NAME AS HAWK-KING	NAME AS LORD OF THE VULTURE AND THE COBRA
xiii	I.	—	 Khe-beu
xiii	2.	 Senkh-toui	—
xiii	15.	 Hotpe-ib-toui	 Nefer-kheu
xiii	17.	 Khe-beu	 Dad-nem-enkh-ronpetu
xiii	19.	—	—
xiii	22.	 Khe-toui	—
xiii	23.	 Gerg-toui	 Wep-maet
xiii	25.	 Enkh-ib-toui	 Uth-kheu
xiii	26.	 Sma-toui	 Ded-kheu
xiii	31.	—	—
xv	3.	—	—

OF THE THIRTEENTH TO SEVENTEENTH DYNASTIES  
 OGLYPHICAL SCRIPT.






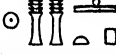
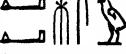



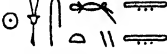





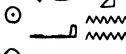

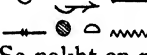
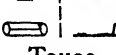
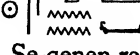
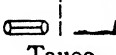


NAME AS HAWK-KING OF NUBI	NAME AS REED- AND HORNET-KING	NAME AS SON OF THE SUN-GOD
 Mery . . . —	 Khe-toui-re  Sekhem-ke-re	 Ugef —
 Nefer-neteru	 Fu-ib-re	 Her-wet
 Khe-n-Ptah —	 Sekhem-khe-toui-re	 Amen-em-het Sobk-hotpe
—	 Smenkh-ke-re	 Mer-meshoi
—	 Sekhem-seuth-toui-re	 Sobk-hotpe
 Men-mertu —	 Khe-sekhem-re	 Nefer-hotpe
—	 Khe-nefer-re	 Sobk-hotpe
 Keu-neteru —	 Khe-enkh-re	 Sobk-hotpe
—	 Mer-nefer-re	 Ay
—	 Mer-usr-re	 Yapak-hal







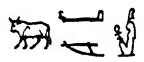


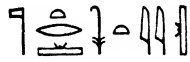
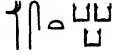
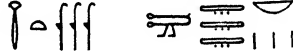

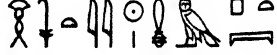
THE NAMES OF THE MORE IMPORTANT PHARAOHS  
AS WRITTEN IN HIEROGL

DYNASTY	No.	NAME AS HAWK-KING	NAME AS LORD OF THE VULTURE AND THE COBRA
xv	4.	—	—
xv	5.	 Ineq-etebru	—
xvii	1.	 Uth-khe	 Shedet-toui
xvii	6.	 Hotpe-neteru	 Esh-kheperu
xvii	7.	—	—
xvii	12.	 Nefer-kheperu	 Her-her-nest-ef
xvii	13.	—	—
xvi	10.	 Sehotpe-toui	—
xvii	19.	—	—
xvii	20.	—	—
xvii	21.	 Sethet-toui	—

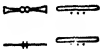
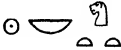



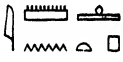








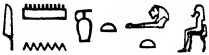
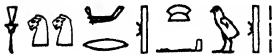
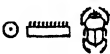

OF THE THIRTEENTH TO SEVENTEENTH DYNASTIES  
 YPHICAL SCRIPT (*continued*).

NAME AS HAWK-KING OF NUBI	NAME AS REED- AND HORNET-KING	NAME AS SON OF THE SUN-GOD
—	 Oe-usr-re	 Apopi
—	 Se-usr-en-re	 Khyan
 In-hotpe	 Ded-hotpe-re	 Dudu-mose
 Ineq-toui	 Sekhem-uth-kheu-re	 Sobk-em-suf
—	 Sekhem-seshedeti-toui-re	 Sobk-em-suf
—	 Nub-kheperu-re	 Intef(oe)
—	 Pehti-nub-re	 Nubi-re
—	 Oe-qenen-re	 Apopi
—	 Se-nakht-en-re	 Tauoe
—	 Se-qenen-re	 Tauoe
—	 Uth-kheper-re	 Ke-mose

# THE NAMES OF THE FIRST SIX PHARAOKHS OF HIEROGLYPH

No.	NAME AS HAWK-KING	NAME AS LORD OF THE VULTURE AND THE COBRA
1.	 Uth-kheperu	 Tut-mosut
2.	 Ke-wef	
3.	 Ke-nakht-meri-Maet	 Khe-m-nesret-nakht-pehti
4.	 Ke-nakht-usr-pehti	 Neter-insi
5.	 Usrt-keu	 Utht-ronpitu, Thet-tou-nebu
6.	 Ke-nakht-khe-m-was	 Wah-insi-mi-re-m-pet

THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY AS WRITTEN IN  
ICAL SCRIPT.

NAME AS HAWK-KING OF NUBI	NAME AS REED- AND HORNET-KING	NAME AS SON OF THE SUN-GOD
 Thes-toui	 Neb-pehti-re	 Ah-mose
 Thoser-ke-re	 Thoser-ke-re	 Amen-hotpe
 Nefer-ronpitu-senkh-ibu	 Oe-kheper-ke-re	 Thut-mose
 Sekhem-kheperu	 Oe-kheper-en-re	 Thut-mose
 Neter-kheu, Senkh-ibu	 Maet-ke-re	 Amen-mense Het-shepsut
 Sekhem-pehti-thoser-kheu	 Men-kheper-re	 Thut-mose



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